

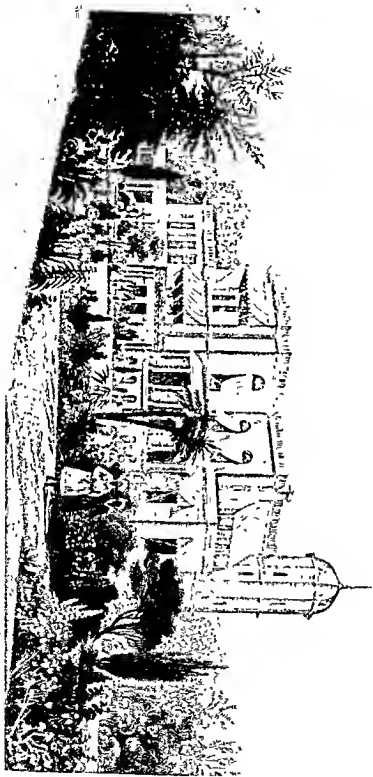


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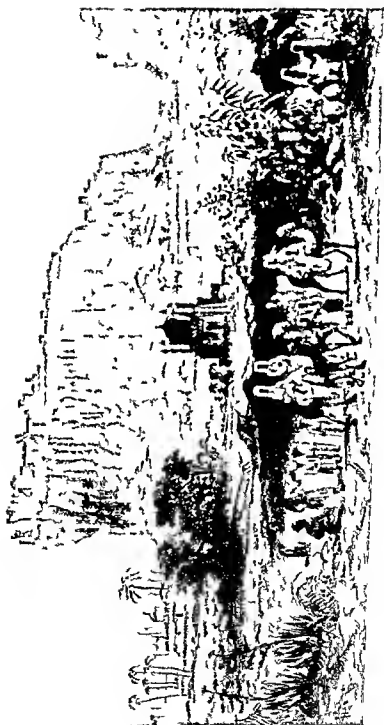
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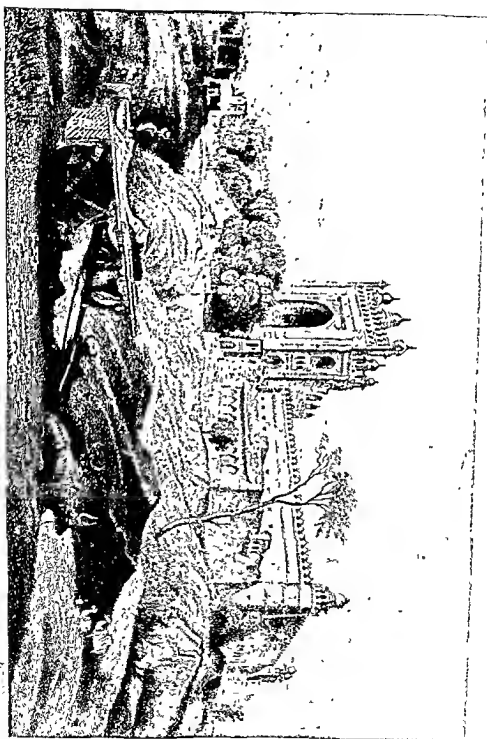
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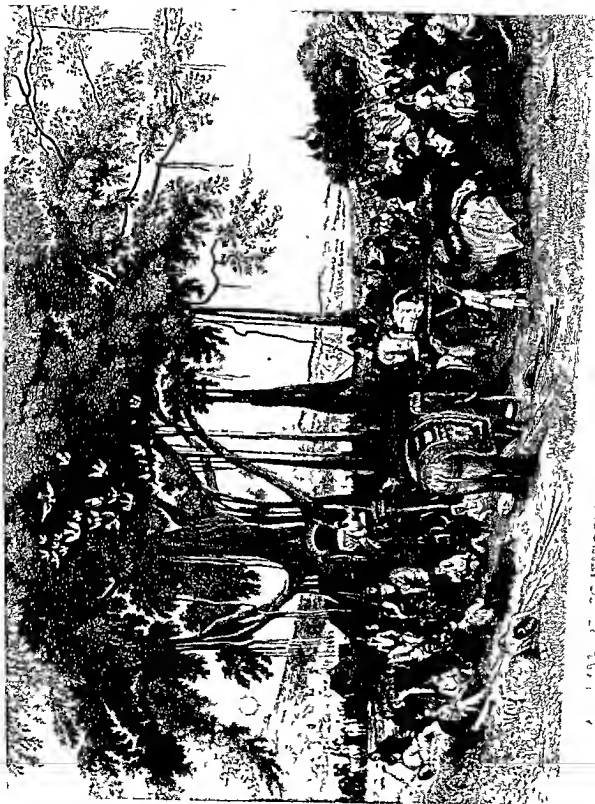












A VIEW OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, TAKEN FROM THE  
 CHICAGO CATHEDRAL, LOOKING SOUTH.













quarters of the army in Oude, immediately previous to his departure from Lucknow for the campaign in Rohilcund, &c

On the 2nd of April, Sir Colin Campbell, whose individual personal comforts were less studied by him than were those of the meanest soldier under his command, removed from the inconvenient quarters he had till then occupied at the back of the Martinière, to the Tera Kotee (House of the Stars, or Observatory), within the enclosure round which, and the adjacent buildings, the tents of the head-quarters' camp were pitched. The change, though more convenient as a centre for the heads of divisions, was by no means for the better as regarded wholesomeness, as the air around was foully tainted by the effluvia from the numerous bodies that were lying half burned and decomposing near the surface of the ground, but the rooms of the houses—windowless, doorless, and shattered by shot and shell—still yielded shelter from the intense heat of the weather, and were gladly occupied as offices for the various departments of the army. The arrival at Lucknow of Mr. Montgomery (appointed chief commissioner of Oude, in the place of Sir James Outram), was announced by a salute of artillery on the 3rd, and, on the following day, a similar salute proclaimed the departure of Sir James Outram from the scene in which, from the 24th of the previous September, he had occupied a distinguished position. Assuming the best test of a general's merits to consist in the opinion entertained of him by the officers and men he commands, Sir James Outram would take a high position in the scale of military worth, for men of all ranks in the camp were unanimous in the expression of personal regard, and recognition of his military qualifications. In his administrative character he was not so justly appreciated, and the humane principle upon which his policy as chief commissioner of Oude was based, was the reverse of popular among men whose passions were inflamed by recent conquest, and by remembrance of the barbarities of a treacherous enemy, whose crimes, in their opinion, could only be atoned for by the inflictions and endurance of a merciless severity. Such, however, was not the view taken by Sir James Outram of the course necessary to be pursued, if the pacification and permanent occupation of Oude was to be effected. So far back as the month of September, he had

recommended to government that tribunals should be established for the trial of sepoy who might surrender, and who had not been guilty of murder. In a letter from him at that time to Mr. J. P. Grant, who had been entrusted with a special mission in the North-West Provinces of Bengal, he wrote—"It is high time to show we do not propose to wage war to the knife, and to extermination, against all Hindoos because they are Hindoos, or against all sepoys because they are sepoys." Happily for the people of India, the policy for which Sir James Outram contended, was adopted by the government; and Mr. Montgomery, armed with large powers of amnesty and forgiveness to all who deserved either, was sent to replace the able soldier who desired to bind the olive round his sword, and who, while prepared to strike down rebellion, was also anxious to temper justice with mercy, when the latter attribute of heaven could be shown.

On the 5th of April, the final arrangements for some definite occupation of Lucknow were completed. The garrison was constituted so as to allow of a portion of it being always ready and available for small expeditions against parties of the enemy in the neighbourhood, while a large column was organised for a movement towards the west of Oude, which would serve to inaugurate the Rohilcund campaign.

The disposition of the force immediately under the command of Sir Colin Campbell was as follows—

*The Lucknow Garrison (under the command of Major-general Sir Alphe Grant)*

*Artillery and Engineers*—1 troop, royal horse artillery (D Aguilars), 1st troop, 1st brigade, Bengal artillery (Opherts), 5th company, 12th battalion, royal artillery, No. 20 field battery (Gibbon), 2nd company, 3rd battalion Bengal artillery field battery No. 12 (Carton), 3rd company, 8th battalion royal artillery, and 5th company, 11th battalion with heavy guns, 4th company, royal engineers; three companies, 4th Punjabees and Delhi pioneers.

*Cavalry*—2nd dragoon guards Lahore light horse, 1st Sikh cavalry, Hodson's horse.

*Infantry*—H. M.'s 20th regiment, H. M.'s 23rd royal Welsh fusiliers, H. M.'s 38th regiment, H. M.'s 63rd regiment, H. M.'s 90th light infantry, H. M.'s 6th regiment, 1st Madras fusiliers head quarters of the 27th Madras native infantry, 5th Punjab infantry.

*The Oude Field Force (under the command of Brigadier-general Walpole)*

*Artillery* (Colonel D. Wood commanding)—2nd troop 1st brigade, Bengal artillery (Lombs); head-quarters 3rd brigade, Bengal horse artillery (Brims). 2nd troop 3rd brigade, Bengal horse

artillery (Mackinnon), 3rd troop, 3rd brigade, Bengal horse artillery (Remington), 6th company, 13th battalion, royal artillery (Middleton), 5th company, 13th battalion, royal artillery (Talbot), 4th company, 1st battalion, Bengal artillery (Francis), 1st company, 5th battalion, Bengal artillery, 23rd company, royal engineers, Bengal sappers and miners, head quarters, 24th Punjab infantry.

"Cavalry (Brigadier Hagart commanding) — H M's 7th hussars, H M's 9th lancers, 2nd Punjab horse, detachments of the 1st and 5th Punjab cavalry.

"Infantry — 1st Brigade (Hon Adrian Hope) — H M's 42nd, H M's 79th, H M's 93rd regiment, 4th regiment Punjab rifles.

"2nd Brigade (Horsford) — 2nd battalion and 3rd battalion rifle brigade, 1st Bengal fusiliers, 2nd Punjab infantry."

*Azimgurh Field Force (Sir E. Lugard commanding)*

"Artillery (Colonel Riddell) — Half E troop royal horse artillery (Anderson), Cotter's battery Madras field artillery, 8th company, 2nd battalion royal artillery, 1st company royal engineers, sappers and miners.

"Cavalry — 2nd battalion military train (Robertson) 3rd Sikh cavalry, 12th irregular cavalry.

"Infantry (Brigadier Douglas) — H M's 10th regiment, H M's 51st regiment, H M's 84th regiment, and regiments already serving in the district, most probably the 54th regiment, H M's 37th, and H M's 13th light infantry. There is also General Penny's force at Caspunge.

"The 75th regiment en route to Meerut, H M's 32nd en route to Benares, H M's 5th, Cawnpore, H M's 84th at Allypore and Bolundshahur, and the 89th at Ukhberpore.

"Seston's Force — Four field batteries royal artillery, H M's 84th regiment, Alexander's horse, and H M's 78th moving up towards Furruckabad."

Besides these troops, there was the division under Brigadier Whitlock, en route for Banda, that of Rose, coming down from Calpee, and that of Coke, with some smaller bodies near the Ramgunga and western Ganges. With these troops, it was imagined, the commander in chief could march across India in any direction, regardless of every obstacle except that of climate. It was not remembered, that when planting his victorious flag upon the strongholds of insurrection, he could yet only deem himself master of the ground actually covered by his troops; for the hearts of the people were against him and the cause for which he fought.

It was known that the greater portion of the rebel army of Lucknow had, upon its retirement from that city, fled into Rohilkund (a province lying to the north west of Oude), where they had congregated to the number of some 24,000 or 26,000, the principal portion of them being in and around Bareilly, and thence, accordingly, the attention of the commander in chief was now directed. At this period the river Ganges was in its periodic course of rising, and

would have the effect, for a time, of circumscribing the movements of the enemy along its course. The ghats would soon be no longer fordable, and as all boats and means of passage to or from the province would presently be wholly in the hands of the British commanders, the concentration of the enemy in Rohilkund was looked upon as most favourable towards the early subjugation of the whole country, inasmuch as, once there, defeat was certain, and escape next in an impossibility. The Ganges forming an impassable barrier on the east, the mountain-ranges on the north, and the converging columns of the British forces on the south and west, marked the limits of the territory within which the fires of rebellion were now to be trampled down.

The force to be led out from Lucknow for this purpose was placed under the command of General Walpole, until the arrangements of the commander-in-chief should enable him to join the division and take the command personally, and its object was to clear the whole of the left bank of the Ganges as far as the frontiers of Rohilkund, moving in concert with the forces under the Brigadiers Coke and Seaton. It was calculated that by the time General Walpole had reached the frontier, the commander-in-chief would be at Tutteghur or Furruckabad, with such troops as could be spared from Cawnpore, and that the force under General Penny would also be available in the advance upon Bareilly, where it was believed Nana Sahib had sought refuge, and where also the main hopes of the enemy were understood to rest. Their position at this time was far from encouraging, Bareilly being an open straggling town without natural defences, and depending solely upon the fort or citadel in its centre, of the positive condition of which for the purposes of defence, no reliable information could be obtained, although it was known that the rebels were casting guns in the town at the rate of one per diem, and were also manufacturing a coarse gunpowder in great quantities. They were also represented as dispirited by the continuous reverses they had sustained, as well as by the conduct, individually, of their leaders. Khan Bahadoor Khan, to whom the insurgents now looked as their principal leader, was fast declining in health, and his age and habits precluded any hope of vigour in his operations. The name of Hossain was a fugitive among the illheartened rebels of

Calpee The begum was daily losing strength by the defection of her ill paid adherents, and, with the moulvie, retreating as the British troops advanced, while Koer Sing was all but surrounded by the column under Sir Edward Lugard, and the chiefs yet faithful to British rule on his flanks and front

Such, then, was the state of affairs as regards pending military operations at the commencement of April, 1858

On the evening of the 6th of the month, instructions were issued to prepare the division commanded by General Walpole for the field, and also for the organisation of an expedition, under Sir Hope Grant, against the moulvie and his followers at Bitowlee On the morning of the 7th, the column under Brigadier Seaton defeated a body of the enemy at Bandoan, driving them across the Ramgunga, and, at the same time, Walpole's force marched out of Lucknow, taking the direction of Shah-jehanpore—the principal town of a district of the Upper Provinces, forty-three miles S S E of Bareilly, having with them two months' provisions and orders were given for the siege train to move up from Cawnpore towards Futteghur

The column placed under the command of Sir Hope Grant, consisted of H M's 38th foot, a battalion of the rifle brigade, a regiment of Sikhs, H M's 9th lancers, a small body of reliable native cavalry, two troops of horse artillery, and a small siege and mortar train It was believed that the moulvie of Fyzabad had collected a force at Baree, about thirty miles north of Lucknow, and that the begum of Oude with several cart loads of treasure, had fled for concealment to Bitowlee, the territory of a rebel chief named Gorhucens Sing, and against these bodies the efforts of Grant were to be directed On the 11th of April he marched out of Lucknow upon his expedition, having with him Brigadier Horsford as second in command On the 13th the troops approached Baree, but had scarcely arrived within sight of the place, when the cavalry of the moulvie got into their rear, and boldly attempted to cut off the baggage train, which consisted of no less than 6000 hackeries, or vehicles of various kinds, and formed a continuous line of nearly twenty miles The attempt was made with much determination, but it was unsuccessful, though the rear guard was sorely pressed, and found some difficulty

in repelling the attack, and protecting the baggage and followers Ultimately the rebel force was beaten off, leaving in the hands of the British troops several guns, and on the field the bodies of some score or two of their men The moulvie himself, it was reported, led the attack upon the rear guard, but finding the chances of the day adverse to him, took care to provide for his personal safety by a timely flight The following description of this affair is given by an eye-witness of it—"The advanced force fell in with a picket of sowars, and fired into them We saw afterwards a man and a horse lying dead The sowars were close, and we saw them going away as fast as they could Ahead we soon saw large bodies of the rebel cavalry with horse guns The enemy were scattered about in front and to the left We found out that they were the 10th and 12th irregulars At one time they came so close that our horse artillery guns and field guns, supported by our cavalry, came into action and dispersed them They did not fire a shot After coming on so bravely, a large body went away to our right flank, and tried to cut off our baggage The moulvie, it is said, was with them, and made a charge on our cavalry, consisting of two squadrons of the 7th hussars, who were sent in chase of them Some say the 7th dragoons did the work at once—others that they had to retire twice to form up, when formed up, they charged and drove away the sowars I believe the 7th lost five killed and wounded While this was going on the column was formed in battle order, and the advance ordered after great delay in bringing up the heavy guns We could see the enemy's infantry occupying a village in great numbers, and the cavalry scattered over an immense plain as the skirmishers advanced, the enemy opened a musketry fire on them, but did not stand when the fire commenced on our side We saw none of them that day, except at long distances, scattered about"

After this skirmish the division encamped for a brief space of time at Baree, and it being then ascertained that the begum and moulvie had separated, the Seetapore line of march was abandoned, and a pursuit commenced in an eastward direction, with a hope of intercepting the flight of the begum and Mummoo Khan, with their train of rebels and reported treasure, but was unsuccessful the former having fled northward, and the latter to the west On the 19th

the troops reached Ramnuggur, and as no certain intelligence of the begum's movements could be obtained, General Grant returned by easy marches to Lucknow, *via* Nuwahgunge, where he found the Ghoorkas busily occupied in preparing for departure, with their baggage and plunder, to Nepal. Grant's force re-entered Lucknow on the 24th of April, without effecting the object of the expedition, but with its numbers seriously diminished by the burning rays of an Indian sun.

The plan of the commander in chief for the Rohilcund campaign comprised a double line of action, namely, the advance of one column north-westward from Lucknow, and the advance of another south-eastward from Roorkee, the two columns to assist in clearing the border districts of Rohilcund, and then to meet at Bareilly, the chief city of the province. The force from Roorkee was under the command of Brigadier Jones, and numbered altogether 3,000 men, with eight heavy and six light guns, the infantry portion being under the orders of Major Coke. This column marched from Roorkee on the 15th, and made its arrangements for crossing to the left bank of the Ganges as speedily as possible. Learning that a considerable body of the enemy had intrenched themselves at Nagul, about sixteen miles below Hurdwar (on the left bank), the brigadier made his dispositions accordingly. Sending his heavy guns and baggage to the ghât opposite Nagul, he crossed with his main body at Hurdwar, and marched down the river to the other side, thus taking the enemy's position in flank. The plan was completely carried out by the evening of the 17th, when he attacked the rebel force, which evacuated the town and intrenchment, and fled, leaving a great number of killed and wounded behind them. By this successful manœuvre, Brigadier Jones was enabled to encamp his force on the Bareilly side of the river, which no longer interposed between him and his final destination. On the 18th he resumed his march, and on the 22nd encountered a strong force of the Duranuggur rebels in position on the banks of a canal near Nageena or Nugeenah, forty-seven miles N.N.W. of Moradabad. The insurgents, aware of the approach of the British column, suddenly opened fire upon it from nine guns they had in position, without, however, checking the advance of the troops. By a judicious flank movement the cavalry swept down

upon the rebels, while the infantry charged their front; and the result was the immediate flight of the enemy, leaving all their guns and six elephants in possession of the victors. The loss of life sustained on the part of the rebels was serious, on that of the British it was inconsiderable. The brigadier then pursued his march towards Moradabad, a town in the direct route to Bareilly, and which, owing to the influence possessed by the rajah of Rampore, in its vicinity, had hitherto been preserved from insurrection. When about three marches from Moradabad, information was received in the camp, that on the 21st of the month, Feroze Shah, one of the shahzadahs or princes of Delhi then in league with the Bareilly rebels, had arrived before Moradabad, to demand supplies of money and stores for the rebel army; and being refused, had entered the city after some opposition, and commenced plundering it, but was arrested in his violence by reports of the advancing column of British troops. The object of the shahzadah was to avoid fighting with the British under existing circumstances, and he hastily retired from the place, which he had scarcely cleared, when Brigadier Jones's column came up, and, entering the town, put an end to the plundering, and drove out such of the pillagers as escaped the bullet or the sword. The main body was then encamped without the town, while a strong portion of the infantry, led by Lieutenant-colonel Coke, was dispatched into it, to make diligent search for a number of rebel chieftains known to be concealed there. This search was highly successful, owing to the officer in command placing cavalry at all the outlets of the city, to prevent escape, and then breaking into and searching such houses as had been indicated as the retreat of the rebel chiefs. One of these personages was secured under circumstances of peculiar daring on the part of his captor. The Nawab Hossein Mussoo Khan, who had long been considered a leader of the disaffected in this quarter, had arrogantly caused himself to be proclaimed nawab of Moradabad; and during the visit of the shahzadah, as well as at an earlier period, had instigated the people to murder and plunder the Europeans in the place. To the boue, or rather fortalice, of this chief, Colonel Coke therefore proceeded, having with him two guns, a party of sappers, and the 1st Punjab infantry. The soldiers of the rebel guard stood upon their

defence, and many of them, including the son and nephew of the chief, were shot down. Lieutenant Angelo, who was with the attacking party, then burst open the door of the apartment in which the nawab and another of his sons were concealed, and made them prisoners; but while thus occupied, he was fired upon from an upper chamber, whereupon he rushed upstairs, again forced a door, and entered the room alone, shooting down three men as he approached them; and some of his men then coming up, the whole of the guard were secured. In the course of this search, twenty-one rebel chustains were captured, and brought into the brigadier's camp for final disposal.

The following despatches, to the deputy-adjutant-general, from Brigadier-general John Jones, commanding the Roorkie field force, detail the operations above referred to:—

"Camp, Moradabad, 24th April, 1859.

"Sir.—The day following the action of Nugeensh (on the 22nd) the column moved to Dhampoor, and on the 23rd I struck into the high road from Moorut fringugur to Moradabad at Noorpoor, with the view of nearing the Ganges in case the enemy should halt in their flight, and attempt to pass my right flank, and get into the Bynoor district. I found the people on the road much more friendly, some of the villagers had turned out against the enemy's cavalry, and cut up about thirty, taking a gun also which had broken down. Directions were forwarded to the officer commanding the troops watching the ford at Duranuggut, to cross and occupy Bynoor. Mr A. Shakspear, the collector of the district, left my camp at Noorpoor for Bynoor. I must here record my thanks to Mr Shakspear for the able assistance he has rendered me: his knowledge of the country is considerable, and the exertion he has made to obtain intelligence and supplies indefatigable. The column marched to Chujite on the 25th intelligence reached me on the road that Moradabad had been occupied by Piroza Shah, son of the late emperor of Delhi, with 2500 followers. It appeared that he had defeated the troops of Dhampoor on the 22nd instant, under the nawab's nephew, taking his guns. Some of the nawab's troops had acted treacherously, and gone over to the enemy.

"On the morning of the 25th I marched for Moradabad, on nearing the town I was met by the brother of the nawab of Dhampoor. He had marched a body of troops from Dhampoor on Moradabad, and defeated Piroza Shah, who, hearing of our approach, evacuated Moradabad and retreated on Bareilly, taking his own and the guns captured with him. I encamped on the racecourse. Under the direction of Brigadier Coke, the town was occupied by infantry and cavalry, and a diligent search made for the rebel chiefs about whom he had obtained information. This search, under that most indefatigable officer, was attended with unlooked-for success, and I have much pleasure in enclosing his report, and a list of the persons taken.

"I would beg to draw the attention of his excellency to the gallant conduct, as related in this re-

port, of Lieutenant Richard Fisher Angelo, 1st Punjab Infantry, and the loyal and faithful service of Wajayat Hoosein Khan, deputy-collector.

"From Mr J. F. Dingle, civil service, I have received most valuable assistance, and I am happy to have an officer of this service in my camp, on whose knowledge and discretion I can so much rely.

"From all the information I can gather, I am led to believe that the rebels who have escaped are all risking towards Bareilly, and I believe I have fully earned out his excellency's directions to clear the army from this portion of Noorpoor—I have, &c.,

"JOHN JONES, Brigadier-general.

"Commanding Roorkie Field Force.

"P.S.—I must not omit to mention an excellent young officer of the civil service accompanying my camp—Mr. Lowe, from whom I have received much assistance."

*Lieutenant-colonel John Coke, commanding Infantry of the Force, to the Assistant-adjutant-general of Field Force.*

"Moradabad, 26th April, 1859.

"Sir.—On the arrival of the force at this place yesterday, I obtained information from Mr Inglis, civil service, in charge of the civil department with this force, that it was probable that a number of the chief rebels were concealed in the city: this was confirmed by the information of Wajayat Hoosein, deputy collector of Moradabad.

"I accordingly made an inspection of the city with Mr Inglis, and having settled the different points to be held during the search, I obtained the major-general's sanction to take a sufficient force into the city to carry out this object. I previously placed parties of the Mooltanee cavalry round the city to prevent the escape of the rebels, about twelve o'clock I proceeded, with two guns of Captain Austin's battery, a party of sappers, and the 1st Punjab infantry, to search the mohalla of Nawab Mujoo Khan, the chief of the rebels in this district, who had caused himself to be proclaimed nawab of Moradabad, and had instigated the people to murder and plunder the Europeans at this place.

"After a long search, I succeeded in capturing Nawab Mujoo Khan, one of his sons and his nephew were shot on the spot, as resistance was made by the soldiers of the nawab's guard.

"The capture of the nawab was effected by Lieutenant Angelo, doing duty with the 1st Punjab infantry, who deserves great credit for his spirited conduct on this occasion. This officer having burst open the door of the room in which the nawab and his sons were concealed and having captured them, was fired on by the guard of the nawab, who were in a room on an upper storey, commanding the house in which the nawab was concealed. Lieutenant Angelo rushed up the narrow stairs leading to this room, burst open the door, and, single-handed, entered the room, shot three men with his revolver, and on being joined by some of his men, captured the rest of the guard. A quantity of property and some horses were, with my sanction, taken by the troops, and an elephant, belonging to the nawab, was made over to the commissariat.

"I enclose herewith a list of the chief rebels captured on this occasion, furnished by Mr Inglis.

"I am much indebted to Wajayat Hoosein Khan, deputy-collector, for the information afforded by him; he has proved the correctness of the opinion formed of him by Mr Wilson, that he was a loyal

subject, and might be fully trusted' I hope he may be rewarded for the excellent service he has rendered

"Having effected the capture of the rebel leaders, and as Mr. Inglis considered his police able to effect the capture of the followers of the nawab and the other rebels in the city, I brought the force back to camp

"The energy displayed by officers and men in carrying out my orders after a long march in the five hours' laborious work in the city, was very creditable to them—I have, &c.

"JOHN COKE, Lieut colonel  
"Commanding Infantry of the Force"

"Head-quarters, Camp, Bareilly, 7th May, 1858

"List of rebels captured in the city of Moradabad, April 26th, 1858—Mujoo Khan, Shaik Fneau-tooila Vakeel, Abid Ali Khan, Sayud Allie Khan, Niaz Allie Khan, Jhubbur Ali Khan, Abdul Kureem Khan, Ala Ali Khan, Shaik Goolam Hussein, Nusuroodeen, Mirza Yakoub Beg, Mirza Jahan-geer Beg, Hoosain Bux, Kureemoolah, Elahie Bux, Jafur Hoosain, Rugweeden Sha; Muddut Khan, Shuffaodeen, Ahmud Hussein, Looman

"Killed in the city during the capture—Nugeemoodeen, son of Mujoo, Moobarick Allie Khan, grandson of Mujoo, Emaan Sha, and Moons, servants of Mujoo

"Forwarded by order of the commander-in-chief, to the secretary to the government of India, military department, for the information of the right honourable the governor general

"II W NORMAN, Major,  
"Deputy-adjutant general of the Army"

Having so far successfully accomplished the object he had in view, the brigadier remained in camp before Moradabad during the remainder of the month of April, usefully occupied in re-establishing confidence amongst the inhabitants of the city and adjacent district, and awaiting instructions from the commander-in-chief for the advance of his column to join the Rohilcund field force on its march towards Bareilly

On the 9th of April, as already mentioned, General Walpole, at the head of the Lucknow division of the army destined to operate in Rohilcund, consisting of about 5,000 troops of all arms, and having with him Brigadier Adrian Hope, in command of the infantry, marched from Lucknow, for the purpose of clearing the left bank of the Ganges, and securing the passage of the Ramgunga at Allygunge, from whence it would accompany the division under the commander-in-chief, in its progress to Bareilly.

From Lucknow to the last named place the distance was about 156 miles, through a region so ill-provided with roads, that no dependence could be placed upon night-marches throughout the entire route, as daylight was indispensably necessary, to

avoid the numerous dangers and difficulties that beset the line of march on every side. In consequence of this, the troops were unavoidably exposed to the heat of the sun as they advanced, and many sank under its scorching influences. Another difficulty also arose in moving forward the heavy guns of the force, for want of traversable roads, and the cavalry and infantry were much retarded in their progress on that account.

For the first two days of his march General Walpole met with no obstruction from the rebels, and, on the third day (April 12th), he reported to the chief of the staff the favourable state of the country through which he had passed, in the following communication—

"Camp Sundeels, April 12th, 1858.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you for the information of his excellency the commander in chief that I marched yesterday to Ruheemabad, and this morning to this place. At Ruheemabad I destroyed a fort which was being constructed which belonged to Soobah Sing, a man of considerable influence, and said to be the head of 4,000 men, he commanded two regiments at Lucknow, where he fought against us. In the course of the afternoon this man came into camp, and gave himself up to Captain Thurburn

"The man who was kotwal here under the English government before the mutiny, met us on the road and though very humble now, gave a very poor account of himself; and an old man, who was chukledar in the king's time, also met us on the road, he was, I understand, a man of influence; and the people upon being told that they would not be molested, remained in their villages, and opened their shops, but the thakoor, the most influential man here, has left the place, and is reported to be at Roohah. Hearing that a bridge was being made over the Goomtee, I sent a person to ascertain whether such was the case, and I find that the piers are made, and the boats for the bridge ready about ten or twelve miles from hence

"The country through which we pass is reported to be free from insurgents and I believe such to be the case, except a sower or two to look out, and give information of our movements; and there are stated to be 150 men at a place called Pomajeech a dozen miles to our right. From what I hear, I believe the march of this column will have a very beneficial effect upon this part of the country, and since the fall of Lucknow, the influential people have become fully aware of the hopelessness of the struggle, and their chief object now is to make the best terms they can

"The country is fine and well wooded, and the road, or rather track good for marching and camels, but in parts near the streams, of which we have crossed two, it is intersected with ravines, and is, in those places, extremely bad, and difficult for pack-teams.—I have, &c.

"JL WALPOLE, Brigadier General,  
"Commanding Field Force"

"Notwithstanding the impediments occasioned by a roadless march through an

enemy's country, and the glaring heat of the sun, it was earnestly hoped that the troops, by being enabled to rest at night on their way, might reach Bareilly about the 21st of the month, as, after that period, the state of the country in Rohilkund would become, from the numerous rivers by which it was bounded and intersected, almost totally impassable for troops, the rainy season, which commences in May, causing them to spread over the land in every direction. There was, consequently, no time to spare for unnecessary encounters with the enemy, and certainly none to be thrown away in insignificant siege operations, which could only have the effect of retarding the progress of the troops toward their proper destination, and might very possibly be attended with serious loss. This, unfortunately, happened to be the case with the division under General Walpole, who, on the 15th of April, reached a jungle fort near a village called Roodamow, about ten miles from the left bank of the Ganges, and fifty-one miles northwest from Lucknow. The place, which was in itself of mere secondary importance, was concealed from view by underwood and trees, and was crowded with matchlockmen, under the command of Nurput Sing, a rebel leader of some repute in the field. Unfortunately for the troops, Brigadier Walpole determined to attack this fort without first making a reconnaissance, and, as it happened, sent forward his infantry without artillery against the only strong side of the place. The troops selected for this hazardous experiment, were a portion of the 42nd highlanders and the 4th Punjab infantry, and they were no sooner descried by the garrison, than a murderous fire opened upon them from an enemy concealed from view. The troops were, for a moment, confused, for they had no means of effectually replying to the fire, and they fell, as it were, defenceless before the shot poured upon them from the jungle, and from the loopholed wall of the fort. Upon this unforeseen difficulty being reported to General Walpole, Brigadier Adrian Hope was dispatched to call back the troops engaged in so unequal a conflict, and had reached them for that purpose, when a bullet from the enemy deprived the army of a gallant officer. Everything now was thrown into confusion, and the troops, exasperated at being shot down without a chance of defending themselves,

were forced to retire, amidst yells of triumph from the enemy. The heavy guns, which ought to have begun the work, were then sent forward, and commenced battering the wall, but the enemy, too wise to risk the perils of an assault, quietly evacuated the fort during the night without sustaining any loss of men, while, on the side of the British, besides Brigadier Hope, several other officers were either killed or wounded, and nearly a hundred rank and file further swelled the list of casualties upon this unfortunate occasion.

The following despatches afford some explanation of the disastrous attack upon the fort of Rooya, or Roodamow —

"The right honourable the governor general of India is pleased to direct the publication of the following despatch, from the deputy adjutant general of the army (No 257 A, dated 20th April 1858), for forwarding copy of a report from Brigadier general R Walpole, commanding field force, detailing his operations against, and capture of the fort of Rooya on the 15th inst.

"His lordship participates in the grief expressed by his excellency the commander in chief at the heavy loss which the British army has sustained in the death of that most estimable officer Brigadier the Hon A Hope, whose very brilliant services he had had the gratification of publicly recognising in all the operations for the relief and final capture of Lucknow. No more mournful duty has fallen upon the governor general in the course of the present contest, than that of recording the premature death of this distinguished young commander.

"The governor general shares also in the regret of the commander in chief, at the severe loss of valuable lives which has attended the operations against the fort of Rooya.

"R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel,  
Secretary to the Government of India."

*From the Deputy adjutant general of the Army to the Secretary to the Government of India.*

"Head quarters, Camp, Poora, 20th April, 1858

"Sir,—I have the honour by order of the commander in chief, to enclose copy of a despatch from Brigadier general R Walpole, dated the 16th inst, which I am to beg you will submit to the right honourable the governor general.

"In this despatch the capture of the fort of Rooya is described, an operation which, to the great regret of his excellency, has been attended with considerable loss.

"Among the names of those who have fallen, appears that of Brigadier the Hon A Hope. The death of this most distinguished and gallant officer causes the deepest grief to the commander in chief. But young in years, he had risen to high command, and by his undaunted courage, combined as it was with extreme kindness and a charm of manner had secured the confidence of his brigade to no ordinary degree.

"This brigade he had led in several assaults, of which the last was in the attack on the Begum Kotree at the late siege of Lucknow.

"The service of her majesty could in Sir Colin



Campbell's opinion, hardly have sustained a greater loss—I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"H. W. NORMAN, Major."

From Brigadier general R. Walpole, commanding Field Force to the Chief of the Staff

"Camp Madhogunge, April 16th, 1858.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the commander-in-chief, that yesterday morning I marched to this place (which almost joins Hoodamow) from Gosegunge

"Nurput Sing, who I stated in my despatch of yesterday was at Rooya fort, which is about one mile to the north of this place, did not come in or send any satisfactory reply to the message of Captain Thurburn, the magistrate, who accompanies this force. I therefore thought it advisable to attack him, particularly as Captain Thurburn informed me that he understood this man had received only the day before yesterday a letter from the begum, and that his intentions were certainly hostile to the government; and, under these circumstances it would have had the worst effect to pass this fort without taking it.

"I accordingly directed my baggage to be massed in the open plain, near Madhogunge, under a strong guard of cavalry, infantry, and two field guns, and proceeded with the remainder of the force towards Rooya, turning off from the road about two miles from Madhogunge, for the purpose of getting round to the north side of the fort, which was stated to be the weakest part of it, where there was a gate, and where there were very few guns.

"The fort on the east and north side is almost surrounded with jungle, and at these two sides the only two gates were stated to be, which information proved correct. It is a large oblong, with numerous circular bastions all round it, pierced for guns, and loopholed for musketry, and surrounded by a broad and deep ditch. There is an inner fort or citadel, surrounded in like manner by a deep ditch, and with a high wall considerably elevated above the rest of the work. On the west and part of the south side there was a large piece of water, which was partially dried up. On arriving before the north side, I sent forward some infantry in extended order, to enable the place to be reconnoitred, when a heavy fire of musketry was immediately opened upon them, and an occasional gun; the cavalry at the same time swept entirely round to the west side, to cut off all communication with the fort. A tolerable view of the fort having been obtained from the road which leads into it from the north, the heavy guns were brought up; the two 18-pounders were placed on it, the two 8-inch mortars behind a wood still further to the right.

"After a short time, a great many of the infantry were killed and wounded from having crept up too near the fort, from which the fire of rifles and matchlocks was very heavy: these men had gone much nearer to the fort than I wished or intended them to go; and some of the Punjab rifles, with great courage, but without orders jumped into the ditch, and were killed in endeavouring to get up the scarp. I therefore gave directions that they should be withdrawn from their forward and exposed situations; and here it was, I regret to say, that the gallant and able soldier, Brigadier Hope, was killed by a rifle or musket ball fired by a man from a high tree within the walls of the place.

"By half-past two o'clock the fire of our heavy guns appeared to have made little or no impression upon the place, and as no gun could be brought to bear upon the gate, the passage to which was not straight, and it could not be approached without the men being exposed to a very heavy fire from the bastion and loopholed wall that commanded it, I considered it better not to attempt an assault until more impression had been made upon the walls of the place, and, as it was getting late, to withdraw from the north side and commence operations against the south east angle on the following morning, which had been reconnoitred by the engineers, and where they thought it would be easier to effect a breach, as it could be better seen, and a more direct fire could be brought to bear. I therefore directed the camp to be pitched on the south side, about a mile from the fort, and withdrew from the north side, where it would have been dangerous to pass the night, as it was surrounded by thick jungle.

"This morning, at daylight, Major Brind, Bengal artillery, and Captain Lennox, royal engineers, proceeded to again reconnoitre the place thoroughly before recommencing operations, and found that the enemy had evacuated it, leaving their guns behind them (five in number), ammunition, a large quantity of attire, and some tools. As some of the carriages were found without their guns, and the track of a gun carriage could be traced to a well, where the water is very deep, I have no doubt other guns have been thrown down it. I had information that there were more in the place, and it is certain none were carried out.

"The reports as to the numbers of the enemy vary so much that it is impossible to arrive at any certainty upon that point; but I am inclined to think the number stated in my despatch yesterday, viz., about 1,000, to be nearly correct; but the strength of the garrison consisted in the nature and situation of the fort, not in their numbers. I regret to say that this operation has cost us above 100 officers and men killed and wounded, and I have deeply to deplore the loss of Brigadier the Hon. A. Hope, from whom I had received the greatest assistance.

"The loss of the enemy it is impossible to ascertain; it must have been heavy from the fire of our guns, and especially from our howitzers and mortars. A few bodies which seem to have been overlooked, and three large funeral fires with the remains of the bodies smouldering, were all that remained of their dead on our entering the place this morning. The fort, which has overawed this part of the country for the last year, is being destroyed under the superintendence of Captain Lennox, royal engineers, and I am in hopes that its destruction will be of the greatest advantage.

"I have received the most willing support from all under my command during this operation; and I beg particularly to offer my best thanks to Brigadier Hager, commanding the cavalry, and to Major Brind, commanding the artillery, for their most able and valuable assistance; also to Captain Lennox, the senior engineer officer; to Lieutenant-colonel Hay, commanding the 3rd regt. ment, who succeeded to the command of the infantry brigade on the death of Brigadier Hope; to Lieutenant-colonel Cameron, commanding the 42nd regiment; to Lieutenant-colonel Taylor, commanding the 7th regt. ment; to Captain Calf, commanding the 4th Punjab infantry, who, I regret to say, was severely wounded; to Lieutenant-colonel Tombs and Major Hemmington, com-

mind eight companies of horse artillery, to Captain Francis commanding the heavy guns; to Captain Coles commanding the 9th Lancers; and to Captain Brown, commanding the 2nd Punjab Cavalry. I beg also to return my best thanks to the officers of my staff—Captain Barwell, deputy assistant adjutant general; Captain Carey, deputy assistant quartermaster general; Captain Warner, aide-de-camp; and I enclose Mr. Eccles, aide-brigade, my extra aide-de-camp.

"Enclosed I beg to forward a list of the casualties and likewise a sketch of the fort which has been made in a hurry but will afford information of the nature of the work—I have &c.

"H. WALPOLE, Brigadier general  
"Commanding Field Force"

The following account of the progress of Walpole's force, and the attack at Roodramow, is from a letter of an officer in the highland brigade, engaged in the encounter "Camp Allergunge, near Futteghur, Oude side of the Gauges, April 23rd, 1858

"On Thursday morning, the 8th instant, we started from the Dilkoosha, and, after a most annoying march, reached our campaigning ground, about three miles from the Moosabagh. From that day to the 15th everything went on smoothly and quietly. The events of each day were monotonous in the extreme. Up at 3 A.M., tents struck as soon as possible, slight breakfast, and march at five, getting to our next halting place about 9 A.M., instead of before 8 A.M., which latter was the hour recommended by the commander in chief to Brigadier general Walpole, as the most suitable for halting and encamping. A disregard to this simple direction has been the source of much sickness amongst both officers and men, as the number of officers on the sick list and patients in hospital will clearly prove. Even at 8 A.M. the heat of the sun is most dazzling and oppressive. On one occasion (I think on Sunday, the 11th instant), it was 10 A.M. before the troops halted, and, as might have been expected from fatigue and exposure such as the men were subjected to, the number of men who reported themselves ill to the surgeons of the various regiments was very great.

"On the morning of the 15th we rose and marched at the usual hour, with a sort of indefinite expectation of meeting the enemy, based on the reports that had lately reached us. An advance guard of companies 1, 2, and 3 of the 42nd royal highlanders, with cavalry and guns, under the command of Major Wilkinson, preceded the main column which was headed by the 42nd royal highlanders left in front. Firing was heard, I think, about half past

nine, the fort of Roora could be seen in some parts embosomed amid trees. No 10 company 42nd royal highlanders was ordered to go out skirmishing in front of horse artillery guns, with No 9 in support. About 300 yards from the fort, Nos 7 and 8 were sent up to Brigadier general Walpole in front of the guns, and were ordered by him to skirmish without support, and to advance till they came within sight of the gate of the fort, and to open fire. It was supposed by those concerned that this movement was for the purpose of preventing the rebels in the fort from escaping by the gate referred to, and that Major Wilkinson would make an attack on the weak side, and that the rebels, driven before him, would naturally think of leaving the fort by the gate. Acting on this supposition, Captain Grove, of No 8, ordered his men to fix bayonets, so as to be ready to receive the rebels should they attempt to bolt by the way specified. On receiving the brigadier general's order above mentioned, Captain Grove advanced without resistance or cover till he came to the counterescarp of the ditch of the fort, where there was a bank which afforded protection. There was now only the breadth of the ditch between his company and the mud intrenchments of the enemy. In the course of a short time that company had one officer, two sergeants, and nine rank and file disabled. So critically alarming did this position and state of affairs become that he sent for support, which soon made its appearance in the shape of part of a Punjab regiment—in all, one hundred strong. These having formed on his left, and finding sufficient cover, rushed boldly into the ditch, attempted ineffectually to get over the parapet, and finally were obliged to retire with the loss of two officers and forty six men killed and wounded. The officer commanding the Punjabses shortly after this fruitless but brilliant dash, came to Captain Grove and asked him for volunteers to bring in the dead body of Lieutenant Willoughby, who had been killed in this impetuous assault. Two men of the 42nd royal highlanders, supported by other two of the 12nd and two of the Punjabses (native officers I believe), went out on this most dangerous mission. In bringing in the body, Captain Cafe, of the Punjabses, had his left arm broken, and private Edward Spence, of the 42nd royal highlanders, received his death wound. All honour to these brave and

devoted soldiers! The conduct of Captain Cate (Punjab rifles), privates Spence and Thompson (42nd royal highlanders), is beyond all praise. After these events had transpired, Brigadier the Hon Adrian Hope, of the highland brigade, went forward to where No 8 company, 42nd royal highlanders, was stationed, for the purpose of seeing with his own eyes how matters stood. I dare say he thought that everything that morning had been dreadfully mismanaged. Before he had been a minute on the perilous ground, he was shot right above the left collar bone, and, as he fell, he exclaimed, 'I am a dead man!' After a few words, he asked for water, which having drunk, he became insensible, and expired without pain. I cannot describe to you the gloom—the thick palpable gloom—which the sudden and untimely death of our amiable and gallant brigadier has cast over the minds of all of us. He was the foremost and most promising of the young brigadiers, he was the man in whom the commander in chief placed the most implicit confidence, and whom all trusted and delighted to honour, and would have followed with feelings of success wherever he chose to lead the way. This is our heaviest, sorest, most terrible loss. Half an hour after this sad blow had been dealt, the company (No 8) retired. It is the solemn conviction—the decided opinion—of all who were present, that, had scaling ladders and sufficient support been sent when first asked for, and the order given to storm, *the fort would have been taken with little or no loss.* The fort is hexagonal with two redoubts, two sides of the hexagon having no fortifications, the bastions circular, the ditch deep and narrow, the escarp and rampart in many places inaccessible, except by scaling ladders. Everybody asks—what did the brigadier intend to do? Why did he send men to occupy the position, which they did when nothing was to be gained by their being there? Why, if he really intended to take the place was it not stormed at once at the point of the bayonet? Or rather—and this is the main query—why was it not shelled by the mortars, and smashed by the breaching cannon, if the brigadier was, like the commander in-chief, careful and jealous of the precious blood of the brave fellows who served under him?

"We retired, and left the fort unscathed—retired and joined the force with a

loss, I am told, in killed and wounded, of 120, including officers, non commissioned officers and privates—retired to our camp downcast, disheartened at the proceedings of the day, and perfectly furious with wrath when the fact stared us in the face that, under a head possessed, not of high military qualities, but of common sense, the proceedings and the results would have been far different. The 42nd, who, along with the Punjabees, had borne the brunt of the hostile fire, had forty two killed and wounded, two gallant young officers mortally wounded, Lieutenant C Douglas and Alfred Jenkins Bramley, one officer severely, Lieutenant Cockburne, seven non commissioned officers and men killed in action, thirty two non commissioned officers and men more or less wounded—two of these wounded soldiers since dead of their wounds. The 93rd highlanders had a few men wounded, and the 79th also a few. Lieutenant Harrington, of Major Remington's troop of Bengal horse artillery, was severely wounded by a musket ball. Only think of it these brave fellows killed, all these brave fellows wounded, and for nothing—nothing achieved by it, nothing gained by it, the fort and the enemy abandoned as we found them.

"Next morning the fort was cleared out (not by us, for they did not give us another chance, but by themselves), they had bolted during the stillness and darkness of the night. It was perhaps as well that they did so. Perhaps if they had stood, *and we had gone at it, it would have been* in the manner of the preceding day, and with the same expenditure of British blood. I say it was doubtless as well that they didn't stick to their post, for we know that there are persons, even in the British army, who won't be advised who won't even learn by experience. And, sad scene it was that burial ceremony on the evening of the following day. A short distance from the camp, in a tope (cluster) of mango-trees, the graves were dug and the bodies of the dead consigned to them. The church of England service was read by a chaplain of that church, and afterwards I had a short service, consisting of the reading of a portion of Scripture—Psalm xc, 1 Thess iv 13, 18, then a short address, lastly, prayer.

"We arrived here yesterday about noon after having driven a party of the rebels before us and killed a great number. I believe the chief is to join us with a large

force soon, and after we have sent our sick and wounded to Futteghur (seven miles distant), we move, it is said, in the direction of Barcilly. It is said that there were only about 400 men in the fort of Rooya, and that the most of them were unarmed villagers."

From amongst the numerous and angry reports that came from the survivors of this unfortunate affair, the following may be selected as of a more moderate tone than the majority of those which obtained a wide currency at the time —

"We left the road," says one eye-witness, "went a round of two or three miles to our right, through a jungle, and then came down on the strong side of the fort. Our small guns opened, and the 4th Punjabees went on, got into the ditch, and on to the walls, but, having no support, retired. The 42nd were kept all day in the jungle, in easy range. They could not even see the fort, but the enemy, of course, knew the paths, and fired away. In the evening a number of wounded were still out, and the troops, in a mass, were enraged at the wretched blunders made during the day. Brigadier Adrian Hope, in an effort to rescue the 42nd from its perilous position, was killed, with Lieutenant Edward C P Willoughby, of the 11th Punjabees, Bramley and Douglas of the 42nd, and Harrington of the artillery. General Walpole at last told Brigadier Hagart to bring in the wounded, which he did, whilst the general himself rode back two miles to camp. The total casualty list showed eight officers, fifty Europeans, fifty natives, and eleven camp followers killed and wounded. The fort was not taken, and we returned. In the night it was abandoned by the enemy, and next day blown up."

Another individual gave the following version of the disaster at Roodamow, in a Bombay newspaper —

"It appears that, at daybreak of the morning of the 15th of April, the force, under the command of General Walpole, broke ground, and, after a march of nine miles, the troops got into position to attack a fort at a place called Roodamow. General Walpole did not, it is stated, make the slightest reconnaissance, but immediately led a portion of his men right up to the fort, on approaching which, there was found to be a ditch all round, and high walls thickly loopholed, from which the enemy poured a most deadly fire of musketry, which, of course, could not be replied to with effect, as not a man of the enemy was visible. Our

men could get little or no cover, and it was only then that the general began to think of getting up the guns, but even then they were ordered to be placed in such a position that they were of little use. In fact, all the leading principles of military tactics appear, on no instant, to have been forgotten, for two companies of the 12nd Highlanders were sent straight up to the walls of the fort in skirmishing order without any support, and we are told, that when an captain of one of the companies remonstrated with General Walpole on the subject, he was told to obey orders, and he, the general, would see him supported, but this, it is asserted, was not done. We come now to the saddest part of our story. Brigadier Adrian Hope, in going to look after these two companies, was shot down. In his death the army and the public have sustained a heavy loss, one that cannot well be replaced. The 42nd also lost two officers killed and wounded (the names are not given), and about forty men placed *hors de combat*. The 4th Punjabi infantry, who were only 120 strong, lost forty six men, one officer killed, and two wounded. But to crown this unfortunate business, and to add to the vexation of the heavy losses, the troops were, about four o'clock in the afternoon, ordered to retire, the rebels yelling at our troops, and the next morning it was found they had evacuated the fort during the night."

The subjoined account was afterwards given by one of the individuals engaged in the murderous conflict —

"The column under Brigadier Walpole, which marched towards Rohilkund to clear the left bank of the Ganges, and to secure the passage of the Rungunga at Allygunge, has effected these objects though not without encountering a check at the fort of Rooya (Roodamow) which has excited bitter feelings among the troops under his command. It turns out that there were not 300 of the enemy in the fort. The attack was mismanaged—officers and men were uselessly sacrificed, and their loss was not avenged. At the very moment that the Sikhs and the 42nd were desperately clamouring up the walls of the fort, helping each other up by hand and leg and firelock, and just as they were getting at the enemy, they were recalled, and in their retreat they suffered as much as in the attack. It is stated that there was a passage where the cavalry could have got in, but that they were not permitted to make the attempt.

The men were furious at the repulse, and clamoured loudly to be led to the assault. The Sikhs had lost Willoughby, and Cope was wounded. The 93rd had lost Adrian Hope. The 42nd left the bodies of Bramley, Douglas, and many gallant comrades behind them. In the middle of the fight, Adrian Hope, ever regardless of his own life where the lives of his soldiers were concerned, rushed to the wall of the fort to withdraw the men. His aide de camp (Butter) said to him, 'The fire is very hot, general.' As he spoke the brigadier fell, shot from above through the neck, shoulder, and lungs. He said, 'They have done for me, remember me to my friends,' and died in a few seconds. At the funeral, which was most affecting, the 93rd wept like children for their beloved officer. There was not a dry eye in Bramley's company as his body was borne to the grave. His body and that of Douglas were recovered by the most daring gallantry, which will not, I trust, go unrewarded. When the men retired, Simpson, the quartermaster-sergeant of the regiment, hearing that two officers were left on the ground, rushed out to the ditch of the work, and, seizing the corpse of poor Bramley, brought it in on his shoulders. He next started out and recovered the body of Douglas in the same way, and then, undeterred by the incessant fusillade of the enemy, this gallant soldier again and again renewed his labours, and never ceased till he had carried in the bodies of five more of his comrades. Two men were killed in attempting to imitate this noble soldier. Does he not well deserve the Victoria Cross?"

General Walpole now pursued his march, and, on the 22nd of the month, had a successful encounter with a large body of the Rohilkund rebels at Sirsa, a small town about seven miles north-west of Shaharanpore, attacking them so vigorously as to capture their guns and camp, and drive them over the Ramgunga in such haste as to allow them no time for destroying the bridge of boats at that place. The achievement was highly important and fortunate, as it enabled him, on the following day, to transport his heavy guns safely over the river at Allygunge, where a few days afterwards, he was joined by the commander in chief and the troops under his immediate command. The affair at Sirsa, or Sirsee, was thus reported by telegram to the governor general —

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'Camp Head-quarters April 1858

'Brigadier general Walpole attacked a large body of Rohilkund rebels yesterday at Sirsee: he killed five or six hundred, took five guns and all their camp &c at Allygunge after a long pursuit. The objects of the commander in chief have thus been attained. The ghats of the Ganges have been cleared by General Walpole's march the Ramgunga river crossed and the enemy's bridge at Allygunge secured for the passage of the siege train across the Ramgunga which as part of the combination is passing the Ganges to day at Futtteghur."

The following version of the affair was afterwards given by an officer engaged at Sirsa —

"On the 22nd General Walpole met the enemy again at Sirsa, near Allygunge, where they had long remained watching our force at Futtteghur. Here again, though the rebels were worsted, 'the old Crimean lad,' as General Walpole is usually called, began by a blunder which was retrieved by the gallantry of the troops. He actually ordered the heavy guns to commence the action when 200 cavalry were in his front. However, the order was not carried out, and the action proceeded. On our coming to the ground, the Pandies were in possession of a village (intrenched), with guns, infantry, and a pretty good number of cavalry. When our advanced guard came upon them, they immediately sent back for the cavalry (9th lancers and 2nd Punjab cavalry) and light field guns, and we made a demonstration on their left flank, where the cavalry was seen, the guns of the advance guard having opened fire. They soon replied in quick style, but upon seeing us going towards their left flank, directed their fire upon us, and, luckily, they gave our artillery a fine chance to get closer with them, which they did to Pandies' sorrow, for they were soon seen to bolt from their guns. The cavalry was very bold in forming and showing a front, but as soon as they saw us advance threes about, they went and took shelter under a tops of trees. We waited for a few minutes, until our artillery came up, and soon dislodged them from there, and then we commenced the pursuit (but, whilst this was going on, the cavalry troop and 1st troop 2nd Punjab cavalry were sent to secure four guns, which they were trying to bolt with, and of course they were taken with out loss on our side, but Pandies suffered a great loss), and skimming and skimming were again the order of the day, to the terror of Pandies. Our casualties were only two — Sergeant May, slightly wounded at 1st Corporal Syllé, rather severely, being

shot in the hand, arm, and hip, the artillery lost one killed and one wounded, and these are all the casualties in the force. The number estimated to have been killed was, I believe, about 500, and four guns taken. It was a cavalry and artillery fight, the infantry was not engaged."

Another account of the affair puts more clearly the alleged blundering of the general.—

"We have had another affair, on the 22nd. Had that been properly managed, we should have cut up a good number, as it was, we only killed from 200 to 300. The enemy waited for us in the open, we were halted, and looked on, then the heavy guns were sent for, though we had a troop of 9 pounders and one of 6-pounders at the head of the column. All this time the enemy's infantry were retiring, the cavalry with four light guns alone remained. Our delay allowed even them to take up a position, however, they were soon driven out—two guns abandoned, two taken in a charge. The cavalry, under Brigadier Hagart, followed them for six miles to Allygunge, and then pulled up, not being able to come up with their cavalry, who mustered some 400. At one time they threatened us, but their hearts failed them at the last moment."

We have already traced the movements of Brigadier Jones to Moradabad, and have now to follow his progress from that city towards Bareilly. On the 2nd of May the force under his command left Moradabad, and, on the 5th, arrived without accident opposite Meerungunge, within fourteen miles of Bareilly. The town was strongly occupied by troops of the shahzadah, Ieroze Shih, whose hasty flight from Moradabad did not encourage much hope that he would abide the result of a conflict here. This prince had made a vast parade of his intentions, and, according to the inflated phraseology of his race, had "wrapped himself in the ceremonies of the grave, and armed himself with the sword of Jahud, that he might ruthlessly exterminate the Peringhees when ever they should dare to throw their shadows across his path." But his resolution did not hold; he fled from Moradabad like a recreant trooper, before the comparatively handful of men led by Brigadier Jones, and now that he was ensconced behind powerful batteries at Meerungunge, at the first sight of the approaching column his courage gave way, and again he in gloriously fled, without waiting to strike a

blow!—and thus, when the troops approached the town, it was empty. Three guns, and about sixty men of the retreating rebels, were, however, caught up by a party of Mooltanee horse, on the road to Bareilly. No impediment, it was now supposed, remained to a further advance, and accordingly, early on the morning of the 6th the camp was broken up, and the head of the column shortly after came in sight of a stone bridge, over a tributary of the Sunha, which flows past Bareilly. Major Coke, with some cavalry, reconnoitred, and found the bridge occupied by the enemy, and enfiladed by some heavy guns. Brigadier Jones, in consequence, disposed his men to the right and left, and by them a well sustained fire of rifles was kept up for two hours, and then, with a rush, the bridge was carried, two guns belonging to the rebels captured, and an entrance into Bareilly effected.

Combined with the movements already described, of the several columns under their respective brigadiers (which, when united, were to form one large army, whose operations would be directed by the commander in chief in person), were the arrangements of a force under the command of General Penny, stationed at Bolundshahar, in the Upper Provinces. In accordance with the plan of the commander in chief for the Rohilkund campaign, this officer was instructed to march through the Budaon district, upon a point between Bareilly and Shahjehanpore, and join the force under the commander in chief at Meeranpore Kutra, six marches from Fateghur. General Penny accordingly set forward, and crossing the Ganges at Norrowlee, had, on the 29th of April, arrived within seven miles of Oosut where he was informed the rebels had gathered in great strength. As it was very desirable to disperse them if possible, the brigadier himself set out, about nine in the evening with a division of his column, consisting of about 1,500 men, with artillery, for Oosut, which, from various causes of delay, he did not reach until midnight. It then appeared that the enemy had retired from the place to Datagunge, a town in the vicinity. The column at first advanced somewhat carelessly, under the impression that no enemy was near, but on arriving at a place on his route called Kukerowlee, it suddenly fell into an ambuscade. According to the report of the officer whose duty

it became to write the official details of the affair, it seems apparent that, after leaving Oosait, much irregularity prevailed in the disposition of the troops, and the usual precautions in advancing through an enemy's country were altogether disregarded. That disaster should result from such mismanagement was a contingency to be naturally expected and it occurred as follows.

The troops were at the time marching in the darkness of the night, and had reached the vicinity of Kukerowlee, about ten miles from Budaon. The advanced guard was under the command of Captain Curtis, and Brigadier Penny, with Mr Cracroft Wilson (a civil officer of government), were in advance of that officer—in position of danger it was not their duty to occupy. From some sudden indications in front, Captain Curtis rode up to the brigadier and his companion, and warned them that there was an enemy close at hand, that, occasionally, men were discerned, and that a light, like a portfire, was distinctly visible at no great distance. The warning so given was unheeded, and the brigadier continued to advance, but he had proceeded little more than a dozen yards on the road when he was hit by a discharge of grape suddenly opened on the advancing party. The general's horse, struck by the shot, carried his rider madly forward into the midst of the rebels, and his body was not recovered until a desperate charge had driven the enemy from their position, when it was found stripped and brutally mangled. Not a moment was lost, and the surprise occasioned by the sudden and unexpected discharge of the gun, had scarcely time to subside, before a squadron of carabimiers, under Captains Foster, Davies, and Beattie, was formed up and charged. The gun was taken, but in rear of it was a deep ditch full of Ghazees. The carabimiers rode on, and dropping in amongst the fanatics in the

ditch, a desperate hand to hand conflict ensued. Captain Foster, who was one of the foremost in the charge, was among the first at the bottom of the ditch, but managed to struggle out of it, when he was attacked by three Ghazees, and but for timely rescue by a troop major who rode up to his assistance, must have been overpowered. As it was he received some severe wounds, as did also his brother officers Beattie and Davis. Colonel Jones, who had succeeded to the command of the division upon the death of General Penny, finding it impracticable to judge correctly the number and position of the rebels in front of or around him, deemed it prudent merely to hold his ground until daylight should enable him to adopt the most fitting course of procedure and the infantry should have come up. The morning at length dawned, and, with its first light, the 64th regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Bingham, with the cavalry and artillery, joined the advanced division, and with this accession of force, the troops led by Colonel Bingham at once charged the enemy in front of them, and drove them into the town. This accomplished, the artillery began to shell it, and in a very short time, the rebels who had probably not expected such an infliction became dispirited, and sought to escape further punishment by retreating from the opposite side of the town. As soon as this was known cavalry were sent round in pursuit of the fugitives, many of whom were overtaken and cut down, but as the district was only imperfectly known, the chase was not continued for any great distance. In this affair at Kukerowlee, the only officer killed was General Penny among the wounded were Captains Foster, Beattie, and Curtis, and Lieutenants Eckford, Davies and Graham.

The following despatch from Colonel Jones, of the carabimiers, commanding the

\* General Penny was colonel of the 2nd European Bengal fusiliers and in command of the Meerut division. His war services are recorded as follows:—Major general Penny, CB served during the Nepal war in 1814-15-16; Malabatta war, 1816-17; Gurra Kotah 1818; Illeripore 1825 (Brevet Major and 1st a medal). He also served in the campaigns on the Sutlej in 1817 including the battles of Alwal and Sobroon where he was wounded (medal clasp and CB); and afterwards at the battles of Chillianwallah and Gojerat and subsequent pursuit of the Afghans under General G. Herbert (medal and clasp). After the capture of Delhi he succeeded Major general Sir A. Wilson Bart. (who was compelled to return from ill health) in the command of

the Delhi field force but took no active part in military operations. General Penny was afterwards nominated to command a column at Bolundshuhur and had crossed the Ganges to join the commander-in-chief's force at Bareilly. His commissions are:—Lieut. 5th February 1807; Lieutenant 10th December 1812; Brevet Captain 5th February 1822; Captain 13th May 1825; Brevet Major 8th January 1826; Brevet Lieutenant-colonel 23rd November 1841; Lieutenant-colonel 29th Jan 1849; Brevet Colonel 7th Jan 1849; Colonel 15th September 1851; and Major-general 25th November 1857. A career of more than fifty years was thus unhappily terminated.

field force, vice General Penny, furnishes the official details of the battle —

"Camp, Kukerowlee, 30th April, 1858

"Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of his excellency the commander-in-chief, that, under the orders of Major general Penny, C B., commanding the force, a column, strength as at foot,\* was held in readiness to move from the village of Nerowlee, upon the town of Oosait, at eight o'clock p.m. on the evening of the 29th of April. At the latter place it was supposed that the rebels were in considerable force, with one or more guns, and the object of the movement was to surprise and cut them up. The column moved off at about nine o'clock, but, owing to one delay or another, did not reach Oosait, a distance of about seven miles, till twelve o'clock that night. The column, up to this point, moved in military formation with an advanced guard, followed by artillery, duly supported by cavalry, with the infantry in rear, the heavy guns and baggage having been sent with a sufficient escort straight to Kukerowlee.

"When within a short distance of Oosait, Mr. Wilson, the commissioner, informed General Penny that the rebels had entirely evacuated the place, and, with their guns, had retired to Datagunge. The column, however, still moved forward, and, on reaching Oosait, the information given to Mr. Wilson by the townspeople appeared to satisfy him of the correctness of the above report. From this point military precautions were somewhat neglected, the mounted portion of the column being allowed very considerably to outmarch the infantry, and eventually, though an advanced guard was kept up, it was held back immediately in front of the artillery, and such was the confidence placed in native reports, that Major general Penny and his staff, under the guidance of Mr. Wilson, the commissioner, were riding at the head of the advanced guard, at about four o'clock on the morning of the 30th of April leading it to Kukerowlee where it had been previously determined that our camp should be pitched, and the force halted for the day. When within one or two hundred yards of Kukerowlee, some horsemen were seen distinctly in front, and some inquiries were made as to what they could be. It was

supposed they must be a portion of our own force that had marched by the direct route to Kukerowlee, and the advance was continued without any extra precaution being taken, till we found ourselves close to the town of Kukerowlee, in a regularly prepared ambuscade, with guns opening on us from the right, with grape and round shot at not more than forty yards' distance, while the horsemen charged down from the left, and infantry opened on us with musketry from the front. As far as can be ascertained, it was at this moment that the much lamented Major general Penny fell, disabled by a grape-shot, he was at any rate not seen alive afterwards.

"The four guns of Captain Hammond's light field battery were now ordered to the front, and nobly did this officer and his men respond to the call. The ground, however, where the enemy had taken up their position, was, to our left, nothing but a mass of sand hills, while, to our right, they were protected by thick groves of trees, and, immediately in their rear, they had the town of Kukerowlee to fall back upon. Owing to these circumstances, and to the want of light the execution done by the fire of our artillery was less severe than it would have been under more favourable circumstances, and the same causes operated against an effective advance of our cavalry. The enemy's numbers and real position could not be seen, and, under these circumstances, it was deemed best merely to hold our ground till daylight might enable us to determine the particular point of our attack, and the infantry could be brought up and made available. On the arrival of Lieutenant colonel Bingham, with her majesty's 61st foot, he was ordered to advance upon and dislodge the enemy from his front and right. This was done in the most gallant style, and the enemy were speedily driven into the town. Not feeling myself strong enough to follow them there, the artillery was directed to fire the town by shelling, and this they speedily accomplished. Some time after this, information was brought that the rebels were evacuating Kukerowlee, at the opposite end of the town. The force was accordingly put in pursuit, but it soon became evident that nothing but a rapid advance of cavalry would enable us to come up with them. Major Bickerstaff, in command of the two squadrons of her majesty's carabimiers, and Lieutenant Lind, in command of the Mooltan horse, were

\* Two hundred of H.M. carabimiers, four guns light field battery; 350 of H.M. 61st regiment, 250 Mooltan horse, 360 of wing of Belooch battalion, 200 of 2nd Punjab infantry.



accordingly ordered forward at a gallop, to endeavour to overtake them, this duty was performed by both thoroughly and zealously. They drove the enemy in confusion before them, and succeeded in cutting up many, capturing one of his guns, and two carts containing powder. The enemy being no longer in sight, the force returned to Kuke-rowlee, and encamped there for the day, after having marched fully twenty-five miles. I have now to return my thanks to the officers of Major general Penny's staff, who, on his death, volunteered their services to me, and rendered me much assistance during the day viz, to Major Harriott, deputy-judge advocate-general, Captain Simeon, assistant-adjutant-general, Captain Briggs, commissariat officer with the force, Lieutenant Eckford, assistant-quartermaster-general (this officer, I regret to say, was severely wounded) also, Captain Dudgeon, of her majesty's 61st regiment, and Lieutenant Warde, of the late 11th native infantry, both aides de camp to Major general Penny. A return of casualties will be forwarded as soon as made out—I have, &c,

(Signed) "HENRY RICHMOND JONES,  
Colonel of Carabiniers, commanding  
Field Force

"Major-general N Penny, CB, commanding Meerut division and movable column, killed Lieutenant A H Eckford, deputy assistant quartermaster general, severely wounded."

Among the singular incidents of this extraordinary and unexpected combat, the escape from death by Lieutenant Eckford is not the least remarkable. The very first fire opened by the rebels shot his horse, which fell under him. He then mounted an artillery horse, when a party of Ghazees attacked him, and, having stabbed the animal, succeeded in wounding him. Eckford fell from the plunging horse, and, as he reached the ground, a Ghazee gave him a tremendous cut on the right shoulder, and left him for dead. Surgeon Jones coming up, found him lying wounded, and assisted him to rise and walk, but the enemy again coming towards them, Eckford and the doctor threw themselves on their faces, as if dead, on the field, and the rebels passed on without heeding them, or fleshing their swords as usual in a wounded enemy. A few men of the column then came up, and, by their assistance, the lieutenant was conveyed to a place of safety.

The following detail of circumstances

connected with the death of General Penny, slightly varies from the preceding account, and is given in a letter from Captain Simpson, who was with the force—"They had marched at night twenty miles. In the early dawn, Penny and Cracroft Wilson were ahead of the advanced guard, which Captain Curtis was commanding. Curtis told them there were sowars to the right; they replied, they were the men they had seen over-night. Shortly after, Curtis said there was a portfire lighted ahead; they said, it is only a torch. Bang went the gun, and Penny was no more seen until after the fight, when his body was found a long way ahead of the gun, and the supposition was, that his horse had run away in the midst of them. He was found stripped, shot, and sabred. Poor gentleman, a sad ending! His remains were buried at Meerut on the 10th of May. Cracroft Wilson, who was riding by his side, was not in the least wounded."

The Bolundshuhur column, now under the command of Colonel Jones, resumed its march, and, on the 3rd of May, succeeded in reaching its point of junction with the force led by the commander in chief, whose movements we have now to trace in connection with the campaign in Rohilkund, in anticipation of which, the following instructions were transmitted to the chief commissioner of the province (Mr Alexander), to aid the steps about to be taken for its final pacification.

"29th April 1858

"Sir—I am directed to communicate to you the general principles which the honourable the governor general desires to see followed by all civil and other officers who will exercise judicial or magisterial powers in Rohilkund on the re-entry of British troops into that province.

The condition of Rohilkund has been in some respects peculiar. The progress of the revolt in the interior has until lately suffered little check. The people left to themselves have in many quarters engaged actively in hostilities against each other, but direct opposition to British authority has been mainly confined to several Suddur towns to the frontier on the Ganges, and to the expeditions against Nynnee Tal.

"Under these circumstances his lordship considers it just to distinguish, by a widely different treatment, the simple bearing of arms or even acts of social violence committed at a period when the check of lawful government was removed from acts directly involving treason against the state or a deliberate defiance of its authority. Pretexting instances of much aggravation it is not the wish of government that public prosecutions should be set on foot on account of offences of the former class.

"Further, in respect of treason and defiance of

British authority, his lordship desires that criminal proceedings shall be taken only against leaders, and against such persons, whether high or low, as have distinguished themselves by activity and rancour against the government, or by persistence in opposition to its authority after the advance of troops, and the reoccupation of stations. The governor general will admit to amnesty all other classes, even though they have borne arms on the side of the rebels, provided that they tender an early and complete submission. But continuance in opposition will exclude from pardon.

\* The governor general has reason to believe that an impression exists in Rohilcund that the Mohomedan population, as such is to be proscribed and crushed. It is likely that the rumour has been raised and fostered by the rebel leaders to excite apprehension and mistrust of the government. His lordship desires that every appropriate occasion may be taken to dissuade the people of this gross error. Such suspected rebels as may be brought to trial will be tried each by his own acts. Each will stand or fall by the line of conduct which he shall be proved to have followed. The government will maintain, as it has always maintained, a strict impartiality in its administration. Equal justice will be shared by all its subjects, whether Hindoos or Mohomedans. You will make public these views, and instruct the chief district officers to make them widely known, in such manner as may appear to be most effectual.

"It will be your care, in accordance with the injunctions of his lordship's orders embodied in the circular order dated the 19th February to bring forward for early notice by the governor general the several examples of conspicuously faithful conduct exhibited by many of the inhabitants of Rohilcund, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty."

"I have, &c.,

"W. Muir, Secretary to Government, N W P."

Before entering upon a series of details that must necessarily occupy many pages, and carry us far into the operations of the army for a lengthened period, it may be permitted to turn aside for a moment from the occurrences in Rohilcund, to advert to the early death of one of England's noblest sons—the much lamented and honoured Captain Sir William Peel.

It will be remembered that, on the 9th of March, 1837, the gallant officer, then commanding his naval brigade in one of the batteries before Lucknow, received a wound in the upper part of his thigh,\* which incapacitated him from active duty, but was not of a nature to excite any serious doubt of his ultimate recovery. Upon the breaking up of the army of Oude, after the capture of the city, a portion of the troops marched to Cawnpore, taking in charge many of their wounded comrades and officers and among them Sir William Peel. Under the assiduous care of his surgical attendant the wound appeared to progress satisfactorily, but, on the 20th of

April, an attack of small-pox prostrated his enfeebled system, and, on the 27th, numbered him among the dead! Thus fell one whose chivalrous life had become an example and a boast among the warriors of his country, and whose early loss was deplored by the highest and noblest of his species.

Captain Sir William Peel, third son of the celebrated Sir Robert Peel (one of the first of British statesmen), was born on the 2nd of November, 1824. He entered the navy as midshipman on board the *Princess Charlotte* Captain A. Fanshawe (flag of Admiral Sir Robert Stopford), in April, 1838, and took part in the bombardment of St. Jean d'Acre from the *Princess Charlotte* he was removed to the *Monarch*, and afterwards to the *Cambrian* (Captain Childs), in which ship he served in the China seas. In 1844, he passed his examination in a manner that called forth the warm eulogiums of Sir Thomas Hastings and Sir Charles Napier, and he was forthwith promoted to the rank of lieutenant. In May of that year he was appointed to the *Winchester* 50 guns, on the Cape of Good Hope station, and shortly after removed to the *Cormorant* steam sloop, in the Pacific, and subsequently to the *Thalia* (42), on the same station. Sir William was promoted to the rank of commander, June 27th, 1846, and was appointed to the command of the *Daring*, on the North American and West India stations. He held several minor commands until the outbreak of the late war with Russia. Being appointed captain of the *Diamond* (28), in the Black Sea fleet, he distinguished himself greatly with his naval brigade in the Crimea, but was compelled, from wounds and over exertion, to return to England before the fall of Sebastopol. At the commencement of the differences with China, in 1856, he was appointed to the command of the *Shannon* (51), screw frigate, ordered on the China station. Captain Peel had scarcely reached the Chinese waters before he was ordered, by the Lord of Ligin, to proceed with troops to Calcutta, to afford assistance in the suppression of the sepoy mutiny. Upon his arrival with the *Shannon* in the Hooghly, he materially strengthened the hands of the government, by forming a portion of his crew into a naval brigade for service on shore, under his own command, and his exertions, as well as those of his brave followers, were most valuable in carry-

\* See ante p. 260

ing out the views of the governor general and the commander in chief. His progress from Calcutta to the seat of war in Oude, has been already noticed. For his eminent services in the Crimea Captain Peel was made a commander of the order of the Bath, and, for his gallantry in India, was nominated a knight commander. He was also an officer of the Legion of Honour in France, and of the imperial Turkish order of the Medjidie, and had received the Sardinian war medal.

By the government of India, the lamentable event was made the subject of a special notification, and every one recognised the justice and propriety of the distinction thus recorded to the worth and memory of the deceased hero by Lord Canning, then at Allahabad, who, immediately on receiving intelligence of the loss the service had sustained, issued the following announcement in an *Extraordinary Gazette* —

"Home Department, Allahabad, April 30th

"It is the melancholy duty of the right honourable the governor general to announce the death of that most distinguished officer Captain Sir William Peel, K.C.B., late in command of her majesty's ship *Shannon*, and of the naval brigade in the North-Western Provinces. Sir William Peel died at Cawnpore on the 27th instant, of small pox. He had been wounded at the commencement of the last advance upon Lucknow, but had nearly recovered from the wound, and was on his way to Calcutta when struck by the disease which has brought his honourable career to an early close. Sir William Peel's services in the field during the last seven months, are well known in India and in England, but it is not so well known how great the value of his presence and example has been, wherever,

and danger, has not felt and acknowledged it — By order of the right honourable the governor general of India

"G. F. EDMONSTONE,  
Secretary to the Government of India,  
with the Governor general."

Throughout India, as in England, there was but one feeling of regret for his loss and admiration of his merits. The event of his death was thus announced in the *Mosussilite* of the 30th of April — "News was received in Agra yesterday, of the death of Captain Sir William Peel, R.N., at Cawnpore, on Wednesday, the 27th instant. His disease was small pox, which attacked him seven days previously. The loss of this intrepid officer will be deeply felt wherever his name was known. He was one of the finest specimens of our countrymen that ever came to these shores, and had all that real greatness of inspiration which belongs to the true hero. He was of the same grand old type to which Nelson belonged, and will live like him in the hearts of the English. It is the fate of most great men and particularly those of Indian fame, to have their deeds doubted and denied by many, even when the voice of the world is ringing with their praises. Were we to believe many statements of great apparent respectability and impartiality, we should be compelled to come to the conclusion, that nearly all of our Indian heroes upon whom honours are being bestowed, are 'over rated men,' if not much worse, that their great deeds are solemn delusions, and that some of them deserve punishment rather than reward. Envy, of course, has something to do with such assertions, and misapprehension something more. But as far as Captain Peel is concerned his exploits have been so conspicuous and unmistakable, that envy has been

sustained any serious injury. He and his friends had not calculated upon the greater enemy that he would have to encounter, and before whom he fell."

An extract from the interesting letters of the special correspondent of the *Times*, then with the troops *en route* for Futtoghur, will appropriately close this digression from the military incidents of the period. Dating from the camp, "Jellalabad (Rohilkund), April 27th," Mr Russell thus wrote—"The electric telegraph has carried its brief announcement of the sad news we heard this morning, to England, some days before the letter I am now writing can reach you. But I can add no details to that brief statement of the event, which must cause such grief to every English heart. The death of Sir William Peel at any time would be a national loss. Despite the theory that there is no such thing as a necessary man, I believe that at this particular juncture his death is a national calamity, and it is one for which I see no reparation. His gallant comrades in the noble profession which was the joy of his life, will be the readiest to admit that the foremost naval officer of the day lies in the grave which contains his body. It is not of mere personal gallantry I speak, although in his career he astonished brave men by glorious recklessness of his own life when ever the smallest benefit to the service was to be gained by braving danger, or of the contempt of death he exhibited wherever and whenever, by example, he could encourage his men to greater emulation of his own calm courage, but I allude more to the largeness of conception, the mastery of detail, the great professional zeal the consummate skill, the ingenuity and unceasing activity of acquisition in all that related to naval questions and tactics and the shrewd watchfulness with which he regarded every matter affecting the condition of our fleet and the efficiency of the service, which he justly regarded as the noblest development of the power and might of England. In the march from Lucknow to Cawnpore he was carried down in a dhooly (or litter), as he was unable to ride, owing to his wound, but he could limp about, and just before we entered Cawnpore he was able to walk a little, when we halted, without the aid of his stick. Morning after morning as our litters were laid down beside each other, he talked to me of the various news which came to us from home, and I well remember the light which

was in his eye as he said, speaking of the division on the Conspiracy Bill—"I am delighted at it, not from any sympathy with those rascally assassins who flock to England, or from any feeling against France or the emperor, whose orders I wear, but because my instinct tells me, as its instinct told the house, that it was the right thing for an English parliament to do, reason or no reason. We must never take a step in that direction, even if one came from the dead to tell us to do so." It was probably in that litter he contracted the fearful malady which cost him his life, for, if I am not misinformed, it was obtained by him from the hospital at Lucknow, where several cases of small pox occurred before we left. On the day after his arrival at Cawnpore he was seized with sickness and feverishness, from which he recovered, but the symptoms of small pox were soon exhibited, and when I mentioned the news that he had it to Dr Clifford, who had been one of his attendants, the latter said he feared it would go hard with Sir William, owing to his irritability of constitution, and to the debility arising from his wound. It was one day's march from Futtoghur that I heard of his illness, and on my arrival I telegraphed to the Rev Mr Moore, the chaplain at Cawnpore, to know how he was. Next day I received the reply, 'Sir William is doing as favourably as can be expected in a case of bad confluent small pox.' This morning on the line of march, we heard he was no more, it flew from mouth to mouth. Sir Colin Campbell showed the grief which was felt by every officer in the force, over and over again, all this morning. 'Peel dead! What a loss to us! It will be long ere the services see two such as Adrian Hope and Peel!' In short, expressions of regret were universal."

Previous to the departure of the commander in chief to join the force destined to act in Rohilkund, it was necessary that measures for the permanent administration of public affairs in Oude should be placed upon a secure and efficient basis, and for this purpose, Mr Montgomery, who had distinguished himself by his administrative abilities in the Punjab while associated with Sir John Lawrence, was appointed chief commissioner of the province, as already mentioned, and his government was composed of the following members, under the designation of "The Oude Commission"—

Chief commissioner, Mr. Montgomery, late judicial commissioner, Punjab civil service, judicial and financial commissioner, Mr G Campbell, civil service, secretary to chief commissioner, Mr Forsyth, civil service, military secretary, Captain Hutchinson, Bengal engineers, nephew to Mr Montgomery, commissioners of divisions, Messrs Wingfield, Davies, St George Tucker, Couper, deputy commissioners of districts—1st class—W A Forbes, civil service, Balmun, civil service, S N Martin, civil service, Captain Barrow 2nd class—Mr Wake, civil service, Captains Carnegie, Evans, and Freeing 3rd class—Mr Capper, civil service, Mr O Lawrence, civil service, and Captain Reid

Of the ability and judgment of Mr Montgomery, the highest opinion was entertained by those who had served with him, and could best appreciate his merits "Stern and inflexible in his purpose, he yet contrived, during the early period of the mutinies, to conciliate the natives under his superintendence, and to become immensely popular among the European community of every grade Mr G Campbell, the second official in point of rank, as judicial and financial commissioner, was also one of the noblest civilians in the Company's service, and from the united efforts of those persons, much was expected in effecting the pacific settlement of the province The task was by no means easy, for they had to restore confidence, not only in the acts, but in the intentions also of the British government, against which the whole people had been embittered by the dethronement of their native princes, and the annexation of their territory

For the purposes of civil government, the province of Oude was separated into four divisions, each of which was again subdivided into three districts, presided over by a deputy commissioner, whose duties, powers, and responsibilities were equal—the class distinction being merely pecuniary, and each deputy had, again, two assistant commissioners under him, the latter were divided into three grades Among these officials, the names of Orr, Kavanagh, Wingfield, Tucker, and Wake, had already become celebrated for services rendered by their bearers to the state Captain Orr had been first assistant at Fyzabad, and his losses, his sufferings, and his energy, eminently entitled him to advancement By him and Sir James Outram, the relieving force under Sir Colin

Campbell was guided into Lucknow, and his subsequent services in the "Intelligence Department" of the army, and in conducting negotiations with various native chiefs, had been invaluable Mr Kavanagh, formerly superintendent of the chief commissioner's office, had signified his zeal for the public service, by successfully accomplishing the perilous mission by which Sir Colin was enabled to make his final arrangements for the relief of the city and Mr Wake had won for himself historical celebrity by his heroic defence of Arrah To such hands, it was hoped, the future government of Oude, and its yet exasperated people, might be safely entrusted, but much was yet to be accomplished by the sword, before the pen could exercise its legitimate influence

The time had at length arrived when the commander in chief felt himself at liberty once more to take the field, and, on the 8th of April, leaving Lucknow in the hands of the chief commissioner (who was sustained by an ample military force, under the command of Sir James Inglis), Sir Colin departed to join the Rohilkund field force, first travelling to Allahabad, that he might have an interview with the governor general From this visit he speedily returned, and the expeditionary force, under his personal command, immediately received the route for Cawpore, on the way to the scene of operations in Rohilkund

Of the materiel of the army thus put in motion, it is unnecessary to dilate, because, in all appliances for warlike purposes, its completeness had been watched over by the veteran chief by whom it was about to be led to new triumphs, but for its ensemble as an English military force, nothing less descriptive than the fertile pen of Mr Russell could possibly render it justice That gentleman, in a letter of the 22nd of April, writes thus of the army, which he accompanied on its march to Bareilly—"I have often thought how astonished, and something more, the Horse Guards, or the authorities, or the clothing departments, or whatever or whoever it may be that is interested in the weighty matters of uniform, and details on the breadth of cuffs, the size of lace, the nature of trowser straps, and the cut of buttons, would be at the aspect of this British army in India! How good Sir George Brown, for instance, would stand aghast at the sight of these sunburnt "hasbi bazouks," who, from heel to

head and upwards, set at defiance the sacred injunctions of her majesty's regulations! Except the highlanders—and when they left Lucknow they were panting for their summer clothes, and had sent officers to Cawnpore to hurry them—not a corps that I have seen sport a morsel of pink, or show a fragment of English scarlet. The highlanders wear eccentric shades of gray linen over their bonnets, the kilt is discarded, or worn out in some regiments, and flies, mosquitoes, and the sun are fast rendering it impossible in the others. Already many officers who can get trews, have discarded the ponderous folds of woollen stuff tucked into massive wads over the hips, and have provided some defence against the baking of their calves by div, and have sought to protect their persons against the assaults of innumerable entomological enemies by night. The artillery have been furnished with excellent head covers, and good frocks of light stuff. Lord Cardigan, in his most sagacious moments, would never light on the fact that those dark faced, bearded horsemen, clad in snowy white, with flagless lances glittering in the sun, are the war-hardened troopers of her majesty's 9th Lancers, or that vandergravy-tunicked cavaliers, with ill defined head dresses, belong to the Queen's hays. The 7th Hussars, the military train, have vestriary idiosyncrasies of their own, but there is some sort of uniformity among the men. Among the officers, individual taste and phantasy have full play. The infantry regiments, for the most part are dressed in linen frocks, dyed corky or gray slate colour—slate blue trousers, and shakoes protected by puggies, or linen covers, from the sun. The peculiarity of corky is, that the dyer seems to be unable to match it in any two pieces, and that it exhibits endless varieties of shade, varying with every washing, so that the effect is rather various than pleasing on the march or on the parade ground. But the officers as I have said, do not confine themselves to corky or anything else. It is really wonderful what fecundity of invention in dress there is, after all, in the British mind when its talents can be properly developed. To begin with the head dress. The favourite wear is a helmet of various shape, but of uniform ugliness. In a moment of inspiration some Calcutta I latter conceived, after a close study of the antique models, the great idea of revolving for every day use the awe-inspiring head piece of Pallas Athene, and that re-

markably unbecoming affair—Minerva was above caring for appearances—became the prototype of the Indian tope in which the wisest and greatest of mankind look simply ridiculous and ludicrous. Whatever it might be in polished steel or burnished metal, the helmet is a decided failure in felt or wicker-work, or pith, as far as external effect is concerned. It is variously fabricated, with many varieties of interior duets and passages leading to escape holes for imaginary hot air in the front or top, and around it are twisted a finite colours and forms of turbans with fringed ends and beaded fringes. When a peacock's feather, with the iris end displayed, is inserted in the hole in the top of the helmet, or is stuck in the puggery around it, the effect of the covering is much enhanced, and this style is rather patronised by some of the staff. The coat may be of any cut or material, but shooting jackets hold their own in the highest posts, and a corky coloured jerkin, with a few inches of iron curb chain sewed on the shoulders to resist sabre cuts is a general favourite. The sword is of all descriptions, except the regulation which is not much in vogue, and it is slung in many ways in many belts, of which the regulation agio is rarely seen. There are native tulwars with English handles and guards, old cavalry sabres with new hilts, Damascus blades in leather sheaths, and these are hung by broad shoulder belts at the hip, or depend from iron hooks fixed in broad buff waist belts. The revolver—scarcely a 'regulation' weapon for the army yet—is universally worn, and I have seen more than one pistol in one of the cummerbunds, or long sashes which some of our officers wear round the stomach in the oriental fashion. As to the clothing of the nether man nothing but a series of photographs could give the least notion of the numerous combinations which can be made out of a leg leather, pantaloons, and smallclothes. Long stage boots of buff coloured leather, for the manufacture of which Cawnpore is famous, pulled up over knee breeches of leather or regimental trousers are common. There are officers who prefer wearing their Wellingtons outside their pantaloons thus exhibiting tops of very bright colours, and the boot and baggy trousers of the Zouave officer are not unknown.

The personal appearance of the gallant commander in chief of this motley array, was thus described, at the time, by the

Chief commissioner, Mr Montgomery, late judicial commissioner, Punjab civil service, judicial and financial commissioner, Mr G Campbell, civil service, secretary to chief commissioner, Mr Forsyth, civil service, military secretary, Captain Hutchinson, Bengal engineers, nephew to Mr Montgomery, commissioners of divisions, Messrs Wingfield, Davies, St George Tucker, Couper, deputy commissioners of districts—1st class—W A Forbes, civil service, Balmain, civil service, S N Martin, civil service, Captain Barrow 2nd class—Mr Wake, civil service, Captains Carnegie, Evans, and Freeling 3rd class—Mr Capper, civil service, Mr G Lawrence, civil service, and Captain Reid

Of the ability and judgment of Mr Montgomery, the highest opinion was entertained by those who had served with him, and could best appreciate his merits. Stern and inflexible in his purpose, he yet contrived, during the early period of the mutinies, to conciliate the natives under his superintendence, and to become immensely popular among the European community of every grade. Mr G Campbell, the second official in point of rank, as judicial and financial commissioner, was also one of the ablest civilians in the Company's service, and from the united efforts of those persons, much was expected in effecting the pacific settlement of the province. The task was by no means easy, for they had to restore confidence, not only in the acts, but in the intentions also of the British government, against which the whole people had been embittered by the dethronement of their native princes, and the annexation of their territory.

For the purposes of civil government, the province of Oude was separated into four divisions, each of which was again subdivided into three districts, presided over by a deputy commissioner, whose duties, powers, and responsibilities were equal—the class distinction being merely nominal.

Campbell was guided into Lucknow, and his subsequent services in the "Intelligence Department" of the army, and in conducting negotiations with various native chiefs, had been invaluable. Mr Kivanagh, formerly superintendent of the chief commissioner's office, had signalled his zeal for the public service, by successfully accomplishing the perilous mission by which Sir Colin was enabled to make his final arrangements for the relief of the city, and Mr Wake had won for himself historical celebrity by his heroic defence of Arrah. To such hands, it was hoped, the future government of Oude, and its yet exasperated people, might be safely entrusted, but much was yet to be accomplished by the sword, before the pen could exercise its legitimate influence.

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Shalychanpore for Tiliur, detaching, for the protection of the post, a part of the 82nd regiment, with some artillery and sappers, and De Kantzow's irregular horse. With very few exceptions, the villages along the line of march had been abandoned by the people, only a very few of the oldest and most miserable being met with in the streets, and the houses were nearly all fastened up and abandoned. Not a beast was visible of any kind whatever, and in many parts of the vast plain traversed, no signs appeared of growing crops. The whole country, as far as the eye could reach, appeared desolate and abandoned. The force halted at Tiliur for the remainder of the day, and the next morning left for Puteelgunge, which they reached in about four hours. This place, the name of which signifies the "Field of Victory," is celebrated as the site of a defeat given to the Rohillas by a British force when engaged some years back in the desecration of the then nawab of Oude. In the course of the forenoon, the field force, lately under the command of General Penny, effected its junction with the main column. At this place, intelligence reached the head quarters that the enemy were in great confusion at Bareilly, and that the force collected at Fureedpore—the next march in advance—had evacuated the position, and fallen back upon the capital. Spies resorted here in abundance, and the intelligence imparted by them of the enemy's whereabouts and strength, was of the most opposite character. The following specimen is characteristic of the whole system pursued. On the evening after the troops had camped at Puteelgunge, a man came in from Bareilly with news respecting the enemy. He was asked if there was any force at Fureedpore. "There is not so much as a fly there," was the response—"Are you sure?"—"Yes. If I tell a lie, and you find a man there, hang me." Just at this moment another spy arrived from Fureedpore itself, and reported the presence of 1,000 cavalry and four guns in the place. The two men were confronted. "Oh," said the first, "I was not at Fureedpore. Coming from Bareilly I passed round it, but I heard a man tell me now say, that there was not a soul in the place." As it was necessary to put some limit to the habit of roaming upon such subjects, the fellow was at once seized. A barber was sent for, his mustachios and eyebrows were shaved

off, and his head divested of every hair, even of the sacred lock which he wore as a high caste Hindoo. He then received a dozen strokes of the bamboo upon his back, and was sent ignominiously out of the camp, having been thus taught a lesson he was not likely very soon to forget.

On the 5th of May the army continued its advance, and, by an early hour, reached Fureedpore without any obstruction, through a country equally desolate as that already traversed since entering Rohilkhand. It was now but one march from Bareilly, and dispositions were made for the advance and attack of the batteries on the following morning. It was, however, impossible for the commander in chief to obtain any reliable information as to the numbers and disposition of the enemy. It was said they had a force varying from 6,000 to 18,000 men, and nearly 100 guns, and it was asserted that they would stand the brunt of an attack, in accordance with solemn oaths they had taken to exterminate the British force. The prince Ferose Shah, had, as usual, left the town before the near approach of real danger, but Khan Bahadour Khan, and some of the principal chiefs with him, had determined on resistance. No fortifications had been thrown up by the enemy, and, with the exception of a stream with rather steep banks, spanned by a bridge on the main road a short distance outside the cantonments, the place offered no line of defence on the south side. It has been mentioned that the commander in chief had directed Brigadier Jones to move down his column from Moradabad to Bareilly, so as to arrive before the place at the same time with the head quarters' column, but still the combined forces would not have sufficed to cover any considerable portion of the town, and the east and north-east sides of it were of necessity left open. The place consisted of one great main street, upwards of two miles long, with tortuous lanes branching off to the right and left, and surrounded by large suburbs containing detached houses, walled gardens, enclosures, and plantations. Outside the town were large plains which, although somewhat intersected by nullahs, were yet favourable for the movements of cavalry of which the enemy were reported to have a large force.

At half past three o'clock on the morning of the 5th of May, the British troops moved off from their camp at Fureedpore,

assumed that on that day would be fought the battle of Bareilly. Shortly after day-break the men had their first halt, as usual, and Sir Colin Campbell rode among the various regiments, superintending the arrangements which nominally had been left in the hands of Brigadier Walpole. At this time the commander-in-chief was actually without a military staff—his aides-de-camp were disabled by fever and small-pox, and, of the officers attached to the chief of the staff, Captain Hope Johnstone was the only one fit for active duty.

Shortly after the halt, the cavalry videttes reported that the enemy's cavalry were visible in front, and a line of sowsars could be seen reconnoitring among the distant tops. The line of advance was then arranged as follows.—On the left of the Bareilly-road, a line of skirmishers of the 2nd Punjab cavalry, on the right a similar line of the Lahore light horse, Tombs' troop of horse artillery, a troop of the 1st Punjab cavalry, four guns of Hammond's and three of Hemmington's, supported by a troop of the 1st Punjab cavalry, and a troop of the 9th lancers being in line across the road, from right to left, in support. The 42nd highlanders marched on the left of the road, in rear of Tombs' guns. The 78th highlanders, followed by the engineers and sappers, moved along the road, and on their right was the 93rd regiment. The 79th followed the 42nd, their flanks being covered by the carabimiers and the Mooltanee horse, the 2nd Punjab cavalry and the remainder of the 9th lancers moving on the right of the 78th highlanders, and a wing of the Belooch battalion, on the right of the road, moved on the same line as the 79th, on the left of the road, behind the sappers and miners. The siege train and the baggage, extending to an enormous length, moved slowly on, being covered on the left by the 4th Punjab rifles, H.M.'s 64th regiment, and the 2nd Punjab infantry, and, on the left, by a wing of H.M.'s 82nd regiment. The rear guard consisted of three guns of Hemmington's troop, one squadron of the 6th Punjab cavalry, 17th irregular cavalry, and 22nd Punjab infantry.

As the troops approached the stream before mentioned, the first shot was fired by the enemy from a rude breastwork thrown up about half a mile in front of the bridge, but a few shots in return speedily drove them from this advanced position,

and they fell back from the bridge itself, where they had made some show of intending to stand, and retired towards the ruined buildings of the old cantonments, without making the slightest effort to resist the passage of the stream, which, though everywhere fordable, had steep high banks, which presented formidable obstacles for infantry, and still more for cavalry, neither did they attempt to impede the advance of the British troops by destroying the bridge, which they had ample time to have done. As the column advanced, skirmishers fell in and retired on the flanks, and the leading regiments deployed into line. Little could now be seen of the enemy, who were screened behind the cantonments with the exception of their cavalry, which showed now and then among the trees on both flanks of the position, and in considerable numbers. Suddenly a gun opened upon Tombs' troop, on the left of the line of advance, with such precision, that the first four shots all took effect, but this was speedily silenced. The troops continued to advance without meeting with any opposition from the enemy's infantry, but their cavalry exhibited increased activity, and a strong body with three guns, came out from the cantonment enclosure and menaced the left and baggage. On the front and right, also, such numbers of the enemy's horse came out from time to time, as showed they had more than 2,500 sabres in the field. In the absence of any definite information respecting the strength of the enemy's infantry, or even of the position they occupied, the commander-in-chief was averse to engage his best troops in a precipitate attack upon the town, which was yet nearly two miles distant. Some companies of a Punjab regiment were therefore sent forward to explore a ruined mass of one storied houses in front of the lines, while the 12nd regiment, divided into two wings, moved up in support, the 78th regiment covering their left at some distance. As soon as the Sikhs got into the houses they were exposed to a heavy fire from a large body of matchlockmen concealed around them, and they fell back with rapidity and disorder upon the advancing highlanders. The scene that followed was extraordinary. Among the matchlockmen—who to the number of 700 or 800, were lying behind the walls of the houses—was a body of Ghazees, who, with fanatic zeal, had devoted themselves to death for their

religion. Uttering loud cries, "Bismillah! All-hi! deen! deen!" 130 of these men, scarcely human, and more ferocious than the wild monarchs of the jungle, tulwar in hand, with small circular bucklers on the left arm, and green cummerbunds, rushed out after the Sikhs, and dashed at the left and right wing of the highlanders. With bodies bent, and heads low, waving their tulwars with a circular motion in the air, they came towards the troops with astonishing rapidity. At first they were mistaken by the men for the Sikhs, whose hasty retreat had already partly disordered their ranks, but, fortunately, Sir Colin Campbell was close up with the 42nd, and his keen quick eye penetrated the case at once. "Steady, men, steady—close up the ranks, bayonet them as they come on"—was his instant order, and it was only just in time, for the madmen, furious with bhang, were already among the troops, and a party of them sweeping round the left of the right wing, had got in the rear of the regiment. The struggle was sanguinary but brief. Three of the Ghazees dashed so suddenly at Colonel Cameron, that he was pulled off his horse before he could defend himself. His sword fell out of its sheath, and, in a moment, he would have been hacked to pieces by the knife-like tulwars, but for the activity of a colour sergeant (Gardiner), who, stepping out of the ranks, drove his bayonet through two of the ruffians, while the third was shot by a man of the 42nd. Brigadier Walpole had a similar escape: two or three of the Ghazees sprang upon him, and strove to pull him off his horse, while others cut at him with their tulwars. He received two cuts on the hand, but was rescued by the quick bayonets of the 42nd. In a few minutes, the dead bodies of 133 Ghazees, and some eighteen or twenty wounded highlanders, were all the tokens left of the struggle in this quarter. About the same time, however, that this desperate affair was in progress, the enemy's cavalry, issuing in considerable numbers on the left of the British force, made a charge across the plain, which created a panic among the sick and camp followers. They swept across the ground as if intending to make a dash at the baggage, cutting up as they went some of the camel drivers and bazaar people, but they were speedily checked, and retired at full speed the instant the cavalry approached them. A similar feat on another part of the column, occasioned

a second alarm, but it was productive of nothing more.

The line continued to advance towards the town, the enemy melting away from the suburbs before it, as it was believed, for the purpose of concentrating upon some point within the place. In the now exhausted state of the troops, it was not deemed advisable to throw the troops into a series of street-fights, besides which, the heat was intense, and many men had fallen in the ranks from sun-stroke. Towards evening, therefore, Sir Colin determined to secure the cantonments and posts in advance, and halted upon the plain between them and the town, where the troops bivouacked for the night.

On the following morning (May 6th), as the men were falling into column, it was reported that one of the principal chiefs with the rebel force (Kambo Nodra Khan) with most of his followers, had fled from Bareilly at noon on the previous day—other chiefs following his example, and that the force in the city had rapidly diminished during the night. Still it was known that considerable portions of the enemy were reported to be in the possession of some strongholds in the city, where many of the houses were loopholed for defence. The principal buildings were also reported to be mined, and the defenders ready to blow themselves up with their conquerors. Some mortars and heavy guns were brought to bear upon the points indicated, and, after a few hours' practice, they were rendered untenable. During the morning, a body of cavalry was dispatched to the right of the force, to intercept a party of the enemy leaving the city, and, fortunately coming up with them, cut some hundreds to pieces, and forced others into the river, where they perished. While this work was proceeding, the guns of Brigadier Jones's column were heard opening fire on the north side of the town, and that gallant officer was thus enabled to take part in the operations at Bareilly.

On the 7th, the advance was pushed on through the town, a great part of which was burnt and in ruins. A quantity of artillery, mostly of recent native manufacture, with shot, shell, and gunpowder, fell into the hands of the captors. Orders were issued against plunder, but the city contained little or nothing that could be "looted." In the gaol was found a poor English lunatic named Healey, who had been left behind when the insurrection

broke out in May, 1857, and whose life had been spared by the supervision of the Mohammedans. This unfortunate person was quite reconciled to his place of residence, and refused to leave it when asked to do so. His companion was a native who had been shot through both legs, and who, with a match in his hand, was ready to fire a mine as soon as one soldier entered. All the other inmates of the gaol were gone.

According to their usual practice, the Mohammedans did very great damage to the church and graveyard at Bareilly, for which, at a subsequent period, a fine of 25,000 rupees was inflicted upon the inhabitants, which sum was paid, and appropriated to the restoration of the building and graveyard.

It has already been mentioned, that when the commander-in-chief marched with his troops from Shahjehanpore, on the 2nd of May, en route for Bareilly, he left a small body of infantry, consisting of five companies of H M's 82nd regiment, and a few squadrons of Punjab horse, as a garrison for its protection in the event of any movement of the enemy in that direction. As it happened, however, the force so left was not adequate for the purpose designed. The army had scarcely covered two marches from Shahjehanpore, before a rebel force, consisting of 8,000 men, with twelve guns, under the command of the moulvie and the rysh of Mohumdee, closing upon its rear, re-entered the town; the small force left for its protection retiring to the gaol and the intrenchment round it, which were strongly defended. The rebels then plundered the town, and put to death many of the native inhabitants who had shown a friendly disposition towards the English, and having taken possession of an old fort in the suburbs, they set themselves down to invest the garrison in the gaol. Fortunately, this was not so effectually done as to prevent intelligence of the movements of the rebels being conveyed to the commander in chief.

Accordingly, on the 8th of the month, Brigadier-general Jones was dispatched with a force to the rescue, the operations connected with which will be hereafter described. A despatch from Sir Colin Campbell to the governor-general, an-

nounced officially the occupation of Bareilly, and was published by the government, with the following introductory notification—

"The right honourable the governor-general is pleased to direct the publication of the following despatch from his excellency the commander-in-chief, dated 8th of May, 1858, reporting operations against the rebels in Rohilkhand. His lordship declares that his excellency will accept his hearty congratulations and thanks upon the complete accomplishment of all the operations projected for Rohilkhand."

"The small cost of life at which success has been secured to the forces under his excellency's command, is again a source of the highest satisfaction to the governor-general; while the cheerful endurance by the troops of the fatigue and exposure to which they have necessarily been subjected of late, is quite admirable. The whole of Sir Gadsden-general Jones's progress from Meerut to Bareilly, has, in the governor-general's opinion, been marked with a happy combination of energy and prudence."

"*To the Right Hon the Marquis Canning, Governor-general.*"

"Camp Bareilly, 8th May, 1858"

"My Lord,—I have the honour to report to your lordship, that according to my intentions already announced, my headquarters were transferred to General Walpole's division in Rohilkhand on the 27th of April, the siege-train &c. having joined him on the previous day."

"The time had now arrived for General Walpole's division to advance on Bareilly on the one side, while directions were sent to Brigadier-general Jones, H M's 60th rifles with whose movements your lordship has already been made acquainted to move forward from Moradabad in a like direction. The late lamented General Fenny, C.B., was instructed to cross the Ganges with the troops, as detailed below\* at the same time at Nudowlee, to advance through the Budaon district and unite himself to the column under my immediate orders at Meeranpore Auz, by the evening of the 6th of March from Futtoghur."

"Although this officer unhappily lost his life in a trifling skirmish, the orders were literally obeyed, and the junction was effected as designed under the orders of Brigadier Jones, H M's 6th dragoon guards—the rebels, who had so long occupied the ghats of the Ganges above Futtoghur, and the district of Budaon, having retired before him, and awelled the mass of the insurgents at Bareilly. During my advance from Futtoghur towards Bareilly the detached parties of the enemy which had previously occupied Shahjehanpore, and the various large villages along the line of road did not venture in a single instance to offer resistance. Accordingly every town and village was spared and I advanced by the regular marches, having halted one day at Shahjehanpore to form a military post at that place."

"On the 8th instant, a movement was made on Bareilly. The information which had been furnished me from various quarters was most confirming; and to place reliance on it was utterly im-

possible. I had quarters H M's 6th foot seven companies; wing of 1st Belooch battalion; 22nd Punjab infantry.

\* Light field battery, heavy field battery, under Major Hammond; head-quarters and two squadrons 8th dragoon guards, carabimers, detachment Mool-

possible. In short, in spite of the assumed friendship of the Hindoo portion of the population, I have not found it easier to obtain information in Robilcund, on which trust could be put, than has been the case in dealing with the insurrection in other parts of the empire.

"Very early on the morning of the 6th, the advance having been made from Fureedpore, the force, consisting as detailed below, was formed in line of battle about six o'clock A.M. The first line consisted of the highland brigade, supported by the 4th Sikhs and Belooch battalion, with a heavy field battery in the centre, with horse artillery and cavalry on both flanks, under the respective brigadiers and commandants.

"The second line was wholly employed for the protection of the baggage and siege train, this precaution appearing to be necessary owing to the very numerous rebel cavalry. The enemy, who had come out from the city with much boldness, and taken position on the left bank of the Nuttee Nuddie, having that stream in his rear, fired his first gun about seven o'clock A.M.

"His guns were well placed, advantage having been taken of the road along which we were advancing, and of certain sand hills. The horse artillery and cavalry advanced at a trot from both flanks, while the heavy field battery, with infantry in line, pressed up along the centre.

"In a short time the enemy was driven from his guns, the left part of our line taking position on the river, while the right crossed the bridge and advanced about three quarters of a mile towards the town. The heavy guns were rapidly passed over in succession, and placed in a position from which they raked the centre of the enemy's second line which he had taken up in the suburbs. A considerable distance had now been traversed by the troops, and it became necessary to check the advance, to allow time for the siege-train and baggage to close up.

"About 11 A.M. great activity was observed in the enemy's ranks, and while the attention of my right was occupied by a considerable body in the suburbs, the most determined effort that I have seen made in this war to turn and break through the left was executed at this time by the enemy. Some old cavalry lines had been occupied by a Sikh regiment. Such was the vigour with which this regiment—a most distinguished one (Major Wilde), under command of Lieutenant MacQueen—was attacked by a large body of fanatical Ghazees, that they gave way for a few minutes. The Ghazees, pursuing their advantage, rushed like madmen on the 42nd highlanders, who had been formed in line in rear of the

village, to support the Sikhs as soon as the hostile movement was descried. These men were all killed in the very ranks of the 42nd highlanders, in a most desperate hand-to-hand encounter.

"The 42nd, supported by the 4th Sikhs and a part of the 79th highlanders, then advanced sweeping through to seize all the various lines for about a mile and a half into the cantonments, where they were placed in position for the day.

"Whilst the Ghazee attack had been going on on the left of the first line, a very large body of the enemy's cavalry, some 600 or 700 in number, coming round our extreme left attacked the baggage. They were quickly encountered by Lieutenant Colonel Tombs' horse artillery troop (which after the first advance across the river, had been left to meet such a contingency) by H.M.'s carabinieri (6th dragoon guards), the Mooltanee horse, and infantry of the rear guard, their instant dispersion took place.

"This is the last effort made by the enemy. A short time afterwards, the 79th and 83rd were directed to seize all the suburbs in their front, and the troops were put under arms as far as possible, the action having lasted for about six hours, and the troops having been under arms from 2 A.M.

"Early the next morning on the 6th instant, the whole force advanced into the cantonment. At the same time I had the pleasure to hear Brigadier-General Jones's guns on the Moradabad side of Bareilly. This officer, who obeyed his instructions with great judgment and spirit, defeated a portion of the enemy on the 6th instant, taking three guns, and finding himself resisted in his approach to the town on the 6th, took three more which were in position against him then entered the town, and took an advanced position without delay.

"On the morning of the 7th, the town was finally reduced, and the Mussulman portion of it—where there were still detached bodies of Ghazees remaining with the intention to sell their lives as dearly as possible—was cleared.

"When I passed through Shahjehanpore, I was informed that the Fyzabad moulvie and the nawab of the former place were at Mohumdee, with a considerable body of men who had retired from Shahjehanpore. I thought it would be impolitic to leave the district of that name without evidence of our presence; a post was therefore formed, consisting of 500 H.M.'s 82nd foot, a detachment of artillery with two 24 pounders and two 9 pounders, and De Kantrow's horse, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Halse, C.B., H.M.'s 82nd foot. He was directed to hold the large enclosure of the gaoi. I anticipated that as soon as my back was turned, the moulvie

\* 1st brigade, under Brigadier Jones, 6th dragoon guards; head quarters and two squadrons 6th dragoon guards, under Captain Bickerstaff; Captain Lind's Mooltanee horse, 2nd brigade, under Brigadier Hagart, 7th Hussars; H.M.'s 8th Lancers, under Major Coles; 2nd Punjab cavalry, under Major S. Browne; detachments of Lahore light horse, 1st Punjab cavalry, 6th Punjab cavalry, and 17th irregular cavalry. *Artillery*.—Under Lieutenant Colonel Brind, C.B., B.A.; Lieutenant Colonel Tombs' troop, B.H.A.; Lieutenant Colonel Remington's troop, B.H.A.; Major Hammond's light field battery, B.A., four guns; two heavy field batteries Captain Francis, B.A.; siege-train, with Major Le Mesurier's company, R.A., under Captain Cook worthy a detachment, B.A. & detachment R.L., Ben

gal and Punjab; sappers and miners under Lieutenant-colonel Harnett R.E., chief engineer to the force. *Infantry*.—Highland brigade, under Lieutenant Colonel Leith Hay, C.B., H.M.'s 93rd highlanders, H.M.'s 42nd highlanders under Lieutenant-colonel Cameron, H.M.'s 79th highlanders under Lieutenant-colonel Taylor, C.B., H.M.'s 93rd highlanders, under Lieutenant Colonel Ross; 4th Punjab rifles, Lieutenant MacQueen; Belooch battalion Captain Beville; Brigadier Butteda's (79th) brigade, seven companies H.M.'s 61st foot, Lieutenant-colonel Bingham, C.B.; H.M.'s 79th highlanders, Colonel Hamilton, four companies H.M.'s 82nd foot, Colonel the Hon. P. Herbert, C.B., 2nd Punjab infantry, Lieutenant Colonel Greene, 22nd Punjab infantry, Captain Stafford.

and the natives would annoy him. The expectations turned out to be correct, and on the 31st instant, he was attacked and overpowered by a large body of cavalry. The guns brought against him were of very inferior quality, and he was so that he had no chance with his attachments.

"The father general James marched this morning with a sufficient force to the relief. The brigadier-general has a direct order power to attack Mohamud after the route has been ascertained. I have not as yet received Brigadier-general Fox's despatch of his own operations on the 31st and 1st instant, but it will be forwarded to the secretary of government if reason is in your lordship's discretion. In the meantime I beg to recommend most favourably to your lordship, the Brigadier-general, and the officers to whom he is indebted since his passage of the Ganges to take part in the general contribution arranged for the reduction of Mohamud. I have the greatest reason to be satisfied with all the troops under my own immediate command. Their alacrity to meet the enemy on all occasions is of course what your lordship expects from them; but I must not lose this opportunity of bearing my testimony to the energy displayed by all ranks of the force in the performance of their duty during the great and incessant heat of the season of the year. It is difficult to speak too highly of that cheerful endurance of intense fatigue, to which we are indebted for the victories gained at comparatively trifling loss on the day of battle."

"I beg to return my thanks to the officers of the staff and officers commanding regiments and corps employed during the campaign of Mohamud and to append a list of their names.—I have the honour to be, my lord, with the greatest respect, your lordship's most obedient and humble servant.

"C. CAMPBELL, General  
"Commander-in-chief, East India."

A list of captured ordnance and stores, and a nominal roll of the killed, wounded, and missing, on the 5th of May, accompanied the above despatch.

The following communication from Bareilly, of the 10th of May, affords some interesting notices, which are enhanced in value by the statement of one of the parties referred to—

"Bareilly, May 10th.—Nothing extraordinary, since I last wrote has transpired in Bareilly itself. The force detached and sent towards Shahjehanpore, was to relieve a small force of 500 horse and foot left there after it was cleared, but subsequently got surrounded by a body of rebels who returned there. Another portion of this very large force here made its first march towards Moradabad this morning, some to remain there, and some homeward bound, &c., for the Punjab. I am glad to tell you, that a force of sufficient strength for all purposes is to be set apart for this station, Highland regiments among the number. This is cheering, for it is not possible we can easily come to grief."

"The total number of guns taken in the engagements here is twenty-three. When the rebels engaged the chief's force, it is said that they were so intoxicated that the cavalry could scarcely keep their saddles, and the infantry scarcely stand. The city was, of course, after the action given up to plunder, and completely gutted, its streets are now lined with guards of British soldiers, and every important position occupied, some spacious buildings exist in the town. The college has been turned, after being so lately the residence of the Nana, into an hospital. Accommodation out of the city, for any purpose, is not to be obtained at any price, the fact is, Bareilly presents one vast scene of desolation. Walls, and in some instances scarcely they, exist, of houses the property of those who no longer tenant this earth. The following are the names of those rescued, or who escaped the Bareilly massacre—

"Mrs Worrell, wife of a sergeant grocer, commanding cool guards. No tidings of her husband—Mrs Wilson and three children, wife of assistant grocer. Husband safe at Nunc Tal—Mrs Cruiser and child wife of a drummer 9th native infantry—Mrs Cruiser, mother to above—Miss Martindale, and a very young brother, brought prisoners with their father and another brother from Fyzabad in Oude, where the father was head clerk in the commissioner's office. The father and brother were put to death in Bareilly—Mrs Decamp and three children. Mr Decamp was a pensioner and farmer in the station—Mrs Davies, mother of a writer in the station, and John Roderick, wife, and child. Roderick was a drummer in the 9th native infantry."

Statement of Mrs Decamp, Widow of Mr. Decamp, of the Invalid Establishment, resident of Bareilly.

"My maiden name is Elizabeth. I was residing in the Suddur Bazaar of Bareilly. On the 31st of May, on which the mutiny took place at Bareilly, I was obliged to make my escape from it with the following members of my family—Joseph Steers, William Steers (my sons by my former husband), Robert Decamp, Charles Decamp (my sons by my late husband), Emilia, my daughter-in-law, Joseph Solomon, my grandson, and a male infant (not yet baptized) and Mary, a native female Christian. We remained concealed in a native house in the Suddur Bazaar till eleven o'clock at

night, after which we made our escape, and arrived at a village named Thilceer, two miles distant from the Suddur Bazaar. We remained in that village for a month, under the protection of Guyoo Khan, one of the putteedars of the said village. Khan Bahadoor, the rebel nawnb of Bareilly, having been informed of our place of concealment, sent a party to seize us. They surrounded Guyoo Khan's house, but Guyoo Khan had contrived to send us beforehand to the jungles, however, the rebels wounded his brother, Jumavret Khan, most severely. The rebels seized me in the jungles with my two sons, Robert Decamp and Charles Decamp. The other members of my family that had made their escape with me from Bareilly, did not fall into the hands of the rebels, but succeeded in reaching Kecarah, belonging to Jymul Sing Zumeendar. The rebels carried me, with my two sons, to their chief, Khan Bahadoor Khan, who detained me at his house one whole day, after which he expressed his willingness to set us at liberty. I told him that I would live in my own house in the Suddur Bazaar. I accordingly occupied my house one whole month, but finding that the Mussulmans were thirsting for our blood, we secretly went to Kecarah, where I found the rest of my relations, living safely with Jymul Sing Zumeendar. In the month of December last, my son, Joseph Steers, with his wife and two children, was escorted by the Thakoors to the other side of the Ganges, where he and some other Christian refugees were safely made over to the British authorities. As I apprehended no danger while living under the protection of Jymul Sing Zumeendar, I remained at Kecarah, longing for the arrival of the British troops in Rohilkund, that I might then recover possession of my house in Bareilly. This day Jymul Sing brought me, with my three sons, William Steers, Robert Decamp, and Charles Decamp, to the camp of J. C. Wilson, Esq., commissioner, on special duty.

"It behoves me to state here, that while British rule was suspended in the whole of Rohilkund, and the Mohammedans were doing all in their power to kill the Christians, Jymul Sing remained staunch and faithful to the British government. He protected every Christian soul that took refuge in his house, and treated the refugees very kindly."

Bareilly, 9th May, 1858."

On the 11th of May, despatches from the

governor-general to the commander-in-chief at Bareilly, brought with them the expression of her majesty's high appreciation of the valour and services of her troops in India, and the gracious recognition of the sovereign was made known to the troops by the following general order of his excellency—

"Head quarters, Camp, Bareilly, 11th May  
"The commander-in-chief has received the most gracious commands of her majesty the queen to communicate to the army the expression of the deep interest felt by the queen in the exertions of the troops and the successful progress of the campaign."

"Sir Colin Campbell has delayed giving execution to the command until he was able to announce to the army that the last great stronghold of rebellion had fallen before the persevering efforts of the troops of her majesty and the 11th Ind Company. The commander-in-chief ventures to quote the very words of the queen—'That so many gallant and brave, and distinguished men beginning with one whose name will ever be remembered with pride (Brigadier-general Havelock) should have died and fallen, is a great grief to the queen. To all Europeans, as well as native troops who have fought so nobly and so gallantly and among whom the queen is rejoiced to see the 93rd, the queen wishes Sir Colin to convey the expression of her great admiration and gratitude.'

"It is impossible for the commander-in-chief to express adequately his sense of the high honour done to him in having been chosen by the queen to convey her majesty's most gracious acknowledgments to the army in the ranks of which he has passed his life."

Returning to the movements of Brigadier Jones for relieving the garrison of Shahjehanpore, it has already been stated, that the force under the command of that officer marched from Bareilly on the 8th of the month, arriving before the town at daybreak on the 11th. Shortly after the troops had halted for the morning's refreshment, the main body of the enemy was discovered at a short distance, and no time was lost in putting the brigade in order of battle. The word was then given to advance upon a mass of rebels who had taken a position in front of the town, and were apparently determined to await an attack. After a short interval, some of their cavalry deployed on the left flank of the column, and approached it with great boldness, until a well directed fire from howitzers threw them into confusion. The large guns of Brigadier Jones then opened on the rebel mass, and the highlanders and rifles pushing on as skirmishers, the enemy retired, their movements being hastened by the sharp fire of the horse artillery. The retreat soon

became a disorderly flight, the fugitives seeking shelter among the houses in the town. The heavy mortars being by this time placed in position, the town was bombarded during two hours, at the end of which time the fort was evacuated, and the stone bridge abandoned. As it was reported that the houses were loopholed and filled with armed men, the brigadier directed that the troops should avoid the main street, and make a detour by the eastern suburb. Along this route no opposition was offered—the enemy retreating as the troops advanced, and increasing their speed as some shrapnels burst among them. After a short time the troops arrived before the gaol in which the beleaguered detachment had been shut up, and which was now liberated. It was then ascertained, that the force with which the brigadier had been engaged formed but a small portion of the insurgent army that had been gathered near the place. On the city and station being cleared, it was found that the enemy had loopholed and mined most of the buildings in the route by which it was expected the troops would advance, and that preparations had been made for a stubborn and prolonged resistance.

When the brigadier had secured his position in the city, much valuable property belonging to the European residents, which the rebels had abandoned in their hasty retreat, was recovered, and among it was the mail of the 26th of April, which had been stopped by them. Of this, two large bags, containing letters and papers for the army, were found, one being yet unopened, the other emptied, and the contents scattered about the streets as if in sheer wantonness.

The brigadier had scarcely effected the relief of the British garrison, when he found himself almost surrounded by masses of the rebel troops under the moulvie, the queen of Oude, and Feroze Shah, who were preparing to attack him in three columns at daybreak on the 15th. Accordingly, at 2 A M he formed in position, and awaited their approach, but it was noon before the enemy appeared. They were then observed placing their guns on a ridge over the left bank of the stream, on the Mohumdee side, from whence they opened fire on the British position, but at too long a range to do any harm. Jones's artillery replied with effect and after a short time the enemy's cavalry, crossing the nullah a few miles

above the town, came down like a hail storm upon the artillery. They were seen in time, and received with such a destructive fire, that they withdrew in confusion, and the whole force quickly disappeared.

The march of the column to the relief of Shahjahanpore had told heavily on the men, thirty eight of the rank and file of the 79th regiment having fallen in marching to and through the city. The 60th rifles, though accustomed to Indian warfare, were deprived of the services of more than forty men from sun stroke, and it was pitiable to see the poor fellows lying in their dhoolies gasping for life. The veins of the arms were opened, and leeches applied to the temples, but, in despite of every care, the greater number of the cases terminated fatally, and of those who did not sink under the blow, there were few fit for duty until after a considerable period had elapsed.

Urged as well by the pressure of the enemy as by the weakened state of his column, no time was lost by the brigadier in announcing to the commander in chief the necessity for immediate aid. The intelligence reached Sir Colin Campbell, who was then on his way to Futteghur with a portion of the troops from Bareilly, and he at once prepared to lead in person a powerful reinforcement of cavalry and artillery in the aid of the brigadier, but, as it was probable the enemy would be informed of the movement, great caution was necessarily used. Spies now reported that the moulvie, with the confederated rebel chiefs and an army of 20 000 men had retired, after the defeat of the 15th along the Mohumdee road, to a place about eight miles distant from Jones's outposts, so that it was possible for them, by a night march, to fall upon the flank of the column of relief. The advance guard was therefore sent well on in front, with flankers extended along the plain, and from time to time halts took place to allow the baggage to close up. In this way the column advanced on the 15th and 16th without molestation the people of some of the villages through which the troops passed gathering on the road side to watch them, and produced stores of flour, rice, and native luxuries for sale, exhibiting a confidence that was attributable to the fact, that on the passage of the troops through the same places on their way to Bareilly a short time previous the men's conduct had been extremely regular, and an attempt to plunder had been made. On



the 17th the troops passed through the village of Tilhur, and about 8 A.M. entered a large mango tope to the south of it, where they remained during the day without any annoyance from the enemy. Late in the evening, a report reached the camp that the enemy were strongly posted a few miles to the north east of Shahjehanpore, and half-an hour after midnight the first angle sounded, and in a very few moments afterwards, the flare of a torch, carried by a native on foot, flashed through the dark network of the trees, and lighted up the path of two horsemen, followed by a small body of Sikh cavalry. The commander-in-chief and General Mansfield were thus riding out early to superintend the order of the march, which commenced at half-past two, and at length brought the force within view of Shahjehanpore, and the rich topes that surround it. Passing over the old camping-ground, the column swept round the city to the bridge of boats, and, crossing it, filed through the long main street of the place, right away to the tope beyond the old cantonments at the other end. To the troops the appearance of the city was saddening, for it had been miserably devastated since they traversed

its streets a short time previous. Brigadier Jones, in advancing to the relief of the garrison, had, as already mentioned, shelled the place very effectively, and subsequently considered it necessary to burn down many of the remaining houses, which had given shelter to the enemy in the attack upon the gaol and its little garrison under Colonel Hale, or which were pointed out to him as the property of rebels. The vestiges presented by those blackened ruins and shattered walls, were numerous in the main street, and, with the deserted houses in every part of the city, combined to give an air of extreme desolation to it. Most of the mosques and Hindoo temples had escaped the general havoc; and the forbearance shown in that respect by the British troops, contrasted favourably with the conduct of the enemy in respect to the church of the cantonments, which had been shamefully desecrated, and its grounds laid waste, as if to impress more deeply the recollection of the outrages upon the Europeans assembled at divine worship on Sunday, the 31st of May, 1857.

Upon halting at Shahjehanpore on the 18th, the camp of the commander-in-chief was pitched close to the river, and between

\* Mr Russell in his admirable sketches, has given the following description of the mango topes of Rohileund. He says—"These mango groves afford most welcome shelter to men and beast, and bird, and every living thing, from the relentless cruelty of the Indian sun. The trees attain a great size, and they stand as close together as their massive branches, clothed with rich dark green umbrageous foliage, will permit. At this season of the year (May) they are laden with fruit, each hanging from a long slender stem, and resembling in size and colour an unripe green-gage plum. The fruit is not considered ripe until after the rains have set in. The tree seems subject to a curious sort of decay, which is betokened by large deep holes in the trunk and upper branches, without any apparent influence upon its foliage or vitality. In these recesses, large and beautiful bright blue jays, small green parrots, three or four kinds of gaudy woodpeckers, bees, snakes, and the small brown horned owl, reside during the greater part of the year. A dust-coloured squirrel, with brown ears, and a large bat covered with dark brown fur, and having fine and extremely delicate membranous wings, also frequent them—in fact, these topes abound with life. All day they are mute, but at night become vocal with discordant sounds not redeemed by the call of the gaudy mango bird, the pleasant note of the bulbul, or the incessant chattering of the minors. The grey-headed black pig, uncommonly like our own mag, and properly called a crow or rook, comes from these fields during the heat of the day, and seeks shelter in the topes; and there he sits with his bill wide open and his tongue out, uttering sultry calls from time to time, gasping

for breath, and looking decidedly as if he wanted some iced drink. Parrots kites, and all the native of the groves give similar evidence of their suffering from the heat, and seek for shade wherever it is to be found." A ludicrous incident was connected with the halt mentioned in the text, which is thus described by the same writer—"The halt under the shade of this friendly grove, was not enjoyed without considerable opposition from some of the inhabitants; for it so happened, that the first camp fire that was lighted, disturbed a community of the most vindictive bees in a hollow of the tree above, that I ever heard of; they at once descended to the assault, and in a few minutes most of their enemies were utterly routed. The commander in chief himself was attacked, and driven right out of the field or rather out of the tope, for the enemy did not desert until they had forced him to take refuge in the open plain. The chief of the staff too was attacked and utterly defeated in a few seconds. Colonel Althorp, after a gallant stand, was obliged to fly with the loss of his spectacles. Mr Mackinnon, using a large mango branch as a weapon, resisted his foes with great activity and courage for some time; but finally he was obliged to fly, wounded in several places and to take refuge in a neighbouring tank. The guard over the treasure was also old-god to abandon their post; the natives wrapped themselves up in their cotton robes, and lay flat on the ground and for a short time the bees were completely victorious. During the struggle all the head-quarter staff armed themselves with green boughs, so that it looked as if they were rehearsing a second march to Dunsmine. When the tents were pitched we found shelter."

† See vol. i. pp. 160, 216.

two fords and the bridge, the enemy being not some distance on the opposite side; but as their cavalry were occasionally visible through a tope, some guns were placed in position to protect the flanks of the camp, while a body of infantry crossed to occupy two villages beyond the town, in order to prevent the enemy from bringing their guns sufficiently near to annoy the camp; and, as it was the wish of the commander-in-chief to allow the troops some interval of rest during the heat of the day, a cavalry detachment, under Colonel Herbert, was sent out to reconnoitre. About two miles from the camp there happened to be a small mud fort, occupied by a strong body of the enemy, with four guns; and, as soon as the colonel and his party came in view, they were met by a discharge of grape, the enemy's cavalry at the same time advancing from the rear of the fort, and shewing in great numbers along the whole front of the camp. The report of those guns speedily brought forward the commander-in-chief and his force, and a line-of-battle was at once formed. On the part of the enemy, there appeared no disinclination to measure swords; and, as they had a vast number of Rohilla horsemen in their ranks, who were well supported by artillery, a considerable amount of cavalry and artillery skirmishing ensued. During the firing, a round shot passed so close to Sir Colin Campbell and the chief of the staff, as to strike the earth near their feet and cover them with dust, to the great consternation of the officers around, who thought their escape from mortal injury impossible. Had it been the intention of the commander-in-chief to make an offensive movement at the time, he might probably have compelled

the enemy to retire; but it was late in the evening when the affair commenced; and even if the men had been in a condition to pursue the enemy, nightfall would have checked them. Sir Colin therefore contented himself with occupying the hamlets and topes in force, and with ordering up a 24-pounder and a heavy howitzer from the siege-train, under Captain Todd Brown; which, acting in conjunction with a troop of field artillery, under Captain Tombs, soon drove the enemy off the field and out of range, and eventually forced them to withdraw their guns, one of which was disabled. Some time after sunset, the commander-in-chief returned to camp. The casualties of the day embraced upwards of eighty killed and wounded among the enemy, and six of the British force, exclusive of a few cases of exhaustion by fatigue and heat.

The commander-in-chief finding himself too weak in cavalry to pursue the enemy with any effect, now suspended operations for a few days, remaining at Shahjehanpore until Brigadier Coko's column could join him from the district of Pileebect. This junction was effected on the 22nd, and preparations were then completed for the immediate advance of the column, under Brigadier Jones, on the rebel position at Mahumdee—a town in Oude, about twenty miles distant, which had been converted into a stronghold by the rebels, who had garrisoned an extensive brick fort, which they mounted with fifteen guns, and gathered round it a large force of insurgent troops, under the command-in-chief of the mouvie of Fyzabad;\* who was said to be accompanied by the begum of Oude and the shahzadah of Delhi. The time at

\* Of this extraordinary and ubiquitous person, we have the following by no means prepossessing personal description:—"A tall, lean, muscular man, with thin jaws, long thin lips, high aquiline nose; deep-set, large dark eyes, beetle brows, long beard, and coarse black hair, falling in masses over his shoulders." During the investigations which were made into the plans and intrigues of the rebels in Oude, the fact was ascertained that this mouvie had been known to the English authorities for many years as Ahmed Shah, an inspired prophet or fakir. He had travelled through the North-West Provinces on some mission ostensibly religious, but still a mystery to the Europeans; and during this journey, he had made a stay of considerable duration at Agra, and became remarkable for the influence he appeared to exercise over the Mohammedan natives. The magistrates of the city kept a watchful eye upon his movements; and it was afterwards believed that he was then engaged in some plot inimical to the British govern-

ment. Nothing, however, appeared at the time to implicate him in any treasonable design, and he remained at liberty. When at length the rebellion broke out, and the mutiny of the soldiers had spread to the troops at Fyzabad (see vol. I., p. 394), the mouvie, who had previously rendered himself conspicuous in the place by encouraging the disorderly conduct of his followers, and had been placed in charge of a military guard; in consequence, was released by the mutinous soldiers, and placed at their head, and he thus became leader of a powerful force. Though sometimes eclipsed in actual power by other chiefs of the rebellion, he yet maintained great influence over the rebels; and as he was an able man, and free from the stain of cruelty that characterised the vindictive ferocity of Nana Sahib and some other leaders, he was looked upon by the British with some degree of consideration, as an enemy by no means to be despised. Towards the latter part of his career he exhibited a more rancorous spirit.

length arrived for dispersing the rebel force thus concentrated; and Brigadier-general Jones, marching from Shahjehanpore on the 22nd of the month, advanced towards the town of Mohumdee, the enemy retiring before him without even a show of resistance. Upon reaching the place it was found empty; the mouvie and his associates having withdrawn their troops to another battle field in Oude. To prevent the place again becoming a nucleus for insurgent operations, it was now burnt and utterly destroyed, the fort being blown up. Kujooen, a fortified village in the neighbourhood, was also destroyed, after some guns and property buried by the rebels had been recovered, and, on the 27th, the troops returned to Shahjehanpore, the only casualties having occurred from sun stroke, which, in two days, had prostrated eighty of the men.

During the operations of the force under Brigadier general Jones, against the troops of the mouvie at Mohumdee, the commander-in chief removed his head quarters to Lutteghur, as a more central station, from whence communication could be held with the various brigadiers, whose columns were still actively employed in different parts of Northern India. The safety of Rohilcund had been provided for by a force under the command of General Walpole, whose head quarters were to be stationed at Bareilly, and also by the formation of a column under Brigadier Coke, for special service in the country districts. Bareilly, the capital, under the superintendence of Major Lennox, R E, was about to be protected by efficient defences, and the civil government of the province was left to the organisation of the chief commissioner, Mr Alexander, whose province it was to restore order among the yet agitated elements of anarchy and confusion.

So far, therefore, the more important events of the campaign had been brought to a close in Rohilcund, and there appeared to be a prospect of repose for the troops, who had so triumphantly borne the colours of their sovereign over the subjugated strongholds and scorching plains of India. The occasion presented by the breaking up of the Rohilcund and Roorkee field forces, seemed fitting to the veteran leader for a putting address of recognition of services and high approval of conduct, which the whole Anglo Indian army had eminently purchased a claim to by its valour and en-

durance; and, accordingly, at the end of May, the following honourable testimonial from the commander-in-chief, appeared in general orders by his excellency's command —

“(General Orders) Head quarters, Camp, Bareilly, 28th May, 1858

“In the month of October, 1857, the garrison of Lucknow was still shut up, the road from Calcutta to Cawnpore was unsafe the communications with the north west were entirely closed, and the civil and military functionaries had disappeared altogether from wide and numerous provinces. Under instructions from the right honourable the governor general a large plan was designed, by which the resources of the three presidencies, after the arrival of reinforcements from England, should be made available for combined action. Thus, while the army of Bengal, gathering strength from day to day, has recovered the Gangetic Doab, restored the communications with the north west of the empire, relieved the old garrison of Lucknow, afterwards taking that city, re occupying Rohilcund and finally assuring, in great measure, the tranquillity of the old provinces the three columns put in movement from Madras and Bombay, have rendered like great and efficient services in their long and difficult marches to the Juma, through Central India, and in Rajpootana.

“These columns, under the command of Major generals Sir Hugh Rose, K C B, Whitlock, and Roberts, have admirably performed their share in the general combination arranged under the orders of his lordship the governor general. That combination was spread over a surface ranging from the boundaries of Bombay and Madras, to the extreme north west of India.

“By their patient endurance of fatigue, their unflinching obedience and their steadfast gallantry, the troops have enabled the generals to fulfil their instructions. In no war has it ever happened that troops have been more often engaged than during the campaigns which have now terminated. In no war has it ever happened that troops should always contend against immense numerical odds as has been invariably the case in every encounter during the struggle of the last year, and in no war has constant success without a check, been more conspicuously achieved. It has not occurred, that one column here or another there, has won more honour than the other portions of the army. The various corps have done like hard work have struggled through the difficulties of a hot weather campaign, and have compensated for paucity of numbers in the vast area of operations by continuous and unex-  
amplified marching notwithstanding the season.

“It is probable that much yet remains for the army to perform but now that the commander-in-chief is able to give the greater part of it rest for a time, he chooses this moment to congratulate the generals and the troops on the great results which have attended their labours. He can fairly say that they have accomplished in a few months what was believed by the ill wishers of England to be either beyond her strength, or to be the work of many years.”

It may fairly be assumed that this unqualified expression of satisfaction on the part of the commander-in chief, preceded,

as it had recently been, by the thanks and encomiums of their sovereign, afforded intense gratification to the brave men to whom such honourable recognitions were addressed, who thus saw their valour and exertions appreciated in the highest quarters, and by those best qualified to judge of their merits.

## CHAPTER VII

TACTICS OF THE REBEL LEADERS. COMMENCEMENT OF A GUERRILLA WAR; ASSASSINATION OF MAJOR WATTS FIELD AND MR. HAYDON; THE RAJAH OF NERGOOND; SIR HOPKINS IN OUDH; DISPERSION OF THE REBEL FORCES; LUCKNOW THREATENED; STATE OF OUDH IN MAY 1859; BATTLE OF NUNAWATON, "PATCHI" AND CORRESPONDENCE; THE RAJAH OF IOWANEE; DEATH OF THE MOULVIE OF FIZABAD; THE 1860th THE CENTRAL INDIA FIELD FORCE; VALLECT BY ADDRESS TO THE ARMY BY SIR HUGH FOSK; REBEL ADVANCE UPON GWALIOR THE TANCE OF SHAN E. TREACHERY OF SCINDIA'S TROOPS; DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF THE MAHARAJAH; OCCUPATION OF GWALIOR BY TANTIA TOPE; ADVANCE OF SIR H. ROSE; OPERATIONS BEFORE GWALIOR; DEATH OF THE BARON OF SHANLIE; THE HEIGHTS CARRIED BY THE BRITISH TROOPS; FLIGHT OF THE ENEMY; CORRESPONDENCE; PROTESTATION OF SCINDIA; INCIDENT AT THE FORT; DEATH OF LIEUTENANT FOSK; CONGRATULATORY ADDRESSES; CORRESPONDENCE; RETIREMENT OF SIR H. ROSE; STATE OF THE REBEL CAUSE, AND OF THE DISTURBED DISTRICTS AT THE END OF JUNE 1859.

It must not be imagined, from the somewhat pacific tone of the immediately preceding pages, that the Indian rebellion had yet been crushed, or that dangers, sudden and imminent, were not still hovering round the European element in every quarter unprotected by our military resources. The din of war upon a concentrated field of action, had, it is true, for a time subsided in Rohilcund, Delhi and Lucknow were no longer the strongholds of insurrectionary armies, but there was still ample cause for the exercise of sleepless vigilance and active exertion. The flames of the incendiary fire that for twelve months had raged over the cities and plains of India, were now hedged within comparatively narrow limits, but they were not extinguished and it was in that portion of the country termed the Doh—the district lying between the Ganges and the Jumna—that the materials by which these flames were kept alive most abundantly existed, and were now most mischievously active. The revolt had here assumed the characteristics of a guerilla war. The enemy, as a mass, had ceased to oppose themselves to the European troops, and found, in a system of harassing marches, and the influences of a scorching sun, most valuable auxiliaries to the tactics they had been driven to adopt. For some time, the rebel leaders would seem to have abandoned all design of further offensive proceedings; and then, suddenly, and in a part where

least expected, would feign an attack, making a demonstration only to tempt pursuit. Light of foot, and weighted only with their arms, they knew that if they could induce the heavily-burdened European troops to follow them, they had an ever present and potent artillery in the blazing sun above and that their pursuers would be prostrated by sun stroke more surely than by round shot. They knew, also, that a rapid continuation of harassing marches, with deprivation of rest, could not but tell in their favour against the efficiency of troops sent in pursuit of them, and unused to the country and the climate.

In Oude—to which the rebel force under the mouvie had escaped after their expulsion from Bareilly—there were still large bodies of malecontents, under various chiefs, among whom Nerput Sing and the begum still contrived to attract numerous adherents, who were unapproachable by the European troops before the return of the cold weather. It was, however, hoped that the rains would seriously diminish the gatherings of these leaders, and that the approaching harvest and seed time would also exercise a salutary influence among the irregular levies thus collected, a great portion of whom would, it was expected, quietly steal away from the army to engage in agricultural pursuits, so that, in that direction, delay was likely to be followed by beneficial and bloodless results to the cause of order.

Moreover, in some parts of the Lower Provinces, there were evident indications of a reaction in popular feeling favourable to the English. Here and there, villagers turned out armed, and attacked and cut up small bands of rebels who were prowling about the country. Near Cawnpore, the inhabitants of a district opposed the passage of a number of the rebels fleeing from Calpee, and, again, near Benah, a considerable number of insurgents were successfully resisted by the people, who threw themselves into a little mud fort, and beat off their assailants with loss.

These, however, were but minor advantages, and of an isolated character. The universal feeling of the native army still continued determinately antagonistic to European rule, and it was not yet sufficiently reduced in numbers, resources, or spirit, to be otherwise than formidable. Armed bands of Goojurs and budmashes and others of the vagabond class, traversed the country in all directions not protected by the immediate vicinity of a British force, plundering and murdering whatever Europeans or native Christians, or employees of the government, might fall in their way, and some of the ravages committed by them almost equalled the atrocities of the early days of the revolt. The assassination of Major Waterfield presents an instance of the blind vindictiveness and cowardly ferocity with which the people of India still expressed their hatred to their European masters.

On the 14th of May, this officer, who had been appointed to the command of a small garrison at Allypore, was on his way to that station in a carriage, accompanied by Captain Fanshawe, an officer of his corps. These gentlemen were without any escort or attendants except the khitmurgur (or driver), and had reached Ferozeabad, on the Agra road, without molestation. About six miles from the former place, they were aroused from slumber, about 1 A.M., by the screams of the driver, who had received a shot through the stomach, and they awakened to find themselves surrounded by a band of 150 armed horsemen, clamouring for their blood. The coachman, in spite of his wound, urged on the horse, but was struck down and killed by another shot. During this outrage, the carriage was followed up by the rebels, and both Major Waterfield and his companion used their revolvers with effect. At length

the major fell, having received a shot in the head, another through the chest, and a desperate tulwar cut across the stomach. The horse was then shot, and, in the darkness and confusion, Captain Fanshawe managed to get out of the carriage. He was instantly surrounded, but so closely, that the rebels for a moment could do nothing. Striking the head of one horse, it started back, and then, swinging his sword right and left, he made a passage through the crowd, two horsemen followed, and one was in the act of striking him with his uplifted tulwar, when the captain cut him deeply across the thigh, and the fellows suddenly rode back to their comrades. Fanshawe, profiting by the darkness, climbed a tree, and remained among its branches until he heard the rebels move off, when he descended, and sought shelter and protection in an adjacent village. The corpse of Major Waterfield was afterwards found lying among the yet burning embers of the carriage, which the murderers had set fire to. The khitmurgur was also discovered on the road, perforated with shot holes, and with his head nearly severed from the trunk.

As soon as intelligence was received at Agra, a detachment of troops was sent to bring in the body of the major, which was afterwards interred, with military honours, in the cemetery of that station. The escape of Captain Fanshawe was considered marvellous, as in the confusion of a single handed conflict with a numerous band, he only received a few scratches, he doubtless owed his safety to the utter cowardice of the gang by which he was attacked.

Another instance of the vindictive feeling that prevailed occurred about the same time in the Southern Mahratta country, under circumstances that, as regarded the victim of it, appeared to have no political foundation for existence. The chief of the petty state of Nurgood, about sixty miles to the eastward of Belgaum, in the Southern Mahratta country, had long been known to the officials of the district as a thriftless improvident man who had deeply incumbered his jaghure, and was living in no fair way to redeem it. When the order of government for disarming the native chiefs was promulgated, it of course applied to this chief as to others, and he offered no active resistance to its requirements. His fort of Nurgood mounted several guns, and these he had expressed his willing-

ness to surrender, but upon the plea of want of carriage to transport them to the head quarters of the division, they remained in the immediate neighbourhood of his fort. As this was a palpable violation of the government order, and it was supposed to be a mere pretext to retain them for sinister purposes, it was determined to send some troops from Belgaum, to bring them away by force, if necessary. Before, however, resorting to this extreme step, Mr Manson, the acting political agent of the division, determined to try the effect of a personal interview with the chief, to whom he was known, and trusting to his influence derived from some years experience of the people. Accordingly, that gentleman rode out from Belgaum with an escort of troopers *en route* for Nurgood, calling on his way upon the chief of Ramdroog, to whom he mentioned the object of his errand to the former place, and by whom he was attempted to be dissuaded from proceeding, on the ground that the Nurgood rajah was in open rebellion. Not deterred by this report from executing his purpose, he rode on, and, on the 29th of May, halted for the night at a village, where he lay down to rest in a palanquin—his escort around him. Here, in the dead of night, the chief of Nurgood broke in upon him, with a party supposed to consist of several hundred men. Mr Manson was cut down as he was getting out of his palkee, and sixteen of his escort fell while defending him, the few survivors flying to give an alarm. Upon receipt of intelligence of this foul murder at Belgaum, instant measures were adopted for the punishment of the assassins, and, on the 31st of the month, a force from Dhwar, consisting of two companies of the 74th highlanders, one company of the 28th native infantry, with two guns, joined a body of Mahratta horse under Colonel Malcolm, at Noolgoond, and in the morning of the 1st of June they advanced on Nurgood—a strong fortress on the summit of a rock, 800 feet above the plain, with the town at its base. The force having halted, a *reconnaissance* was made, and it was found that the enemy, to the number of from 1500 to 2,000, were encamped about a mile from the village. On observing the approach of the reconnoitring party, they withdrew, but when the former retired towards the main force, the rebels, imagining they fled, took heart, and, with their chief mounted on an elephant, advanced into the plain,

brandishing their swords, and shouting defiance. Contrary to their expectation, the Mahratta horse suddenly made a determined charge into their ranks, followed by the European artillery and native infantry. The rebels turned and fled towards the town, about forty of them being cut down in the charge and pursuit. The horse then halted until the other troops came up, and when about 150 yards from the town, the artillery opened a most destructive fire upon it. The highlanders and sepoy then made a detour to the left, and entered the place by a gate way they found open and undefended, and in a short time the whole place was in the hands of Malcolm's force, whose casualties amounted to six men wounded, or scorched with gunpowder, but no deaths. The fort was still occupied by the enemy, who contented themselves with occasionally firing a gun towards the town, and as Colonel Malcolm had then no means of knowing the defences of the place, or the number of the garrison, he deemed it prudent to defer an attack upon it until the following morning. Accordingly, at 7 A.M. of June 2nd, a storming party proceeded to ascend the steep and rugged pathway leading from the plain to the main gate, which they proposed to blow in by powder-bags. They approached unmolested—not a shot was fired or man seen upon the walls until they were within a few yards of the gate, when a single head was seen above the parapet, and the owner of it was speedily saluted by a couple of rifles, but without effect, as the man began to reciprocate the favour intended, by throwing stones at his two assailants. A Mahratta horseman at this moment sprang forward from the advance and, without difficulty or impediment, scaled the wall of the fort, unbarred the gates, and the stormers were admitted without resistance. Three men only were found inside the fort, who were promised their lives if they surrendered quietly, but the frightened wretches, doubtful of the proffered clemency, rushed to the wall, and, leaping from it, were dashed to pieces. The Brahmin in charge of the temple, had already drowned himself in the well of the fort, and this stronghold, which had at no time bide defiance to the armies of Tippoo Sahib, now fell without a blow being struck in its defence. After a day's rest, the troops marched in the direction of Gudduck, to co operate with a detachment advancing from Belgaum, which had defeated

a party of rebels at a place called Kopal, and taken possession of the fort there. The moment the murder of Mr Manson was known at Belgaum, Mr Souter, a superintendent of police, with a mounted party, also proceeded in quest of the perpetrators of the crime. The chief of Nurgood, who had been seen at the head of his army when the reconnoitring party of Colonel Malcolm fell back on its main body, had fled from the field as soon as the artillery opened fire, and with seven of his followers, who were present at the murder, were first heard of by the police superintendent at daybreak on the 2nd of June. The chase continued till sunset, when they were found skulking in a belt of jungle on the banks of the Mulpurba, near Ramdroog; and there the chief, with six of his seven confederates, were captured as they were about to start for another refuge. The prisoners were immediately escorted to Belgaum, where they were all tried by special commission, and convicted of rebellion and murder. The state of Nurgood was declared confiscated; and on the 12th of the month the chief was hanged, with six of his followers; the rajah of Dumhul, one of his companions, was blown from a gun at the same time, and thus ended another frightful episode in the history of the sepy rebellion.

The peculiar circumstances of atrocity which characterised this unprovoked murder of an estimable public officer, who had been on terms of personal intimacy and friendship with the perfidious chief of Nurgood, were too glaring to be passed over by the Bombay government without special notice, and the following notification, which shortly afterwards appeared in the *Bombay Gazette*, exhibited the just appreciation, by the lieutenant governor in council, of the public loss sustained by the death of the ill-fated gentleman.

"Bombay Castle, 4th June, 1858

"I The right honourable the governor in council feels the deepest regret in announcing the death, on the night of May the 29th, of J C Manson, Esq., acting political agent in the Southern Mahratta country.

"II A report having reached Mr Manson, when at Koorbundwar, that an outbreak had occurred at Gadduck, in the Dharwar collectorate, in which Bheem Rao, of Moondurg, and the Dessayee of Hembghur, were actively engaged, and with which the chief of Nurgood was suspected of being connected, Mr Manson at once proceeded towards Nurgood, in hope of restraining the chief from the commission of any act of rebellion, and of inducing him to continue loyal to the British government.

"III Mr Manson arrived at Ramdroog, about

twenty five miles from Nurgood, on the evening of the 28th of May, attended by a single horseman, having far outriden the rest of his escort. He was assured by the chief of Ramdroog, that the chief of Nurgood had collected troops, and was in open rebellion against the government. He was strongly urged not to proceed to Nurgood, but, with that noble devotion to duty, of which the recent history of India has presented so many instances, he determined to make a final effort to save the chief, by his personal influence, from the ruin impending over him.

"IV. He left Ramdroog on the evening of the 29th of May, attended by sixteen sowars of the Southern Mahratta irregular horse, his escort having come up in the course of the day. He stopped at the village of Soorbund, about fifteen miles from Nurgood, and slept in a palanquin, surrounded by the sowars. Here he was attacked, in the middle of the night, by the chief of Nurgood at the head of 800 men. After a desperate resistance, Mr Manson and all the sowars were killed, with the exception of one, who escaped severely wounded.

"V. Such are the few facts which have been conveyed to government by the electric telegraph. They show that a gallant and accomplished gentleman, who had proved himself a most valuable servant of the state, had been basely murdered.

"VI His lordship in council feels that this bloody deed is too recent for comment, but he is proud to say that, though recent, the avenging hand of justice is on the murderers.

"VII Immediately on the receipt of the news of the outbreak, reinforcements were ordered to proceed to the Southern Mahratta country, and instructions were issued for proclaiming the confiscation of the Nurgood state.

"VIII On the 1st of June, a Madras column, under Major Hughes, carried the fort of Kopal by assault, and, among the slain, were the Bheem Rao of Moondurg and the Dessayee of Hembghur. On the same day, Colonel Malcolm, with a light detachment, stormed Potal of Nurgood, and obtained entire possession of the town. The murderers, though protected by one of the greatest strongholds in the Southern Mahratta country, then lost heart, and evacuated the fort, which was occupied by Colonel Malcolm on the 2nd of June. Arrangements were then made for the active pursuit of the chief; and the superintendent of police, Souter, after a long chase, succeeded in capturing the chief, and six of his principal adherents, on the evening of June the 3rd.

"IX The body of Mr Manson has been recovered, and has been buried at Kulud. The right honourable the governor in council will regard it as a sacred duty to make provision for the families of the brave men who lost their lives in defending one whose untimely fate is so deeply deplored.

"By order of the right honourable the governor in council.—H. L. ANDERSON,

Secretary to Government."

In other parts, also, of the British dependencies, during the whole of May, disturbances were occasioned by bands of marauders and insurgents, not belonging to leaders of note, or to be classed as forming a part of the rebel armies. For the most part, the individuals engaged in these

affairs were, except in numerical strength, a contemptible rabble, headed by refractory zemindars, and other disaffected persons, and their ravages extended as well in their own country people as to the persons and property of Europeans—the chief object being plunder and rapine. In one instance, a party of about 2,000, led by the zemindar of Arpeillee (a place south of Nagpoor), ravaged many villages, and, in the course of their operations, brutally murdered some electric telegraph inspectors, and took away all the public and private property found at the station. But these rebel bands met with little countenance from the villagers, who trembled at their approach, and dreaded alike the costliness of their friendship, and the utter ruin which followed their hostility.

It will be remembered that, upon the final occupation of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell, in March, a very large number of the rebels were enabled to escape into Rohildund, whither they were followed, as we have seen, by the commander in chief and his brigadiers. There were still, however, many of them known to be distributed over the territory of Oude, though not massed in any great numbers, to afford employment for the troops in a succession of desultory affairs that combined, with the heat of the weather, to harass and wear out the energies of the troops whose labours for a time were incessant, without any commensurate result. Still, the general impression, towards the end of May, was, that the country had gradually approached a state of quietude, owing to the discretion with which the powers vested in the chief commissioner by the explanatory letter of the governor general were exercised by Mr Montgomery. The most important military operations in this quarter, during April and May, were the following—

On the 11th of April General Sir Hope Grant, with a strong force of cavalry and infantry, left Lucknow for the north of Oude, with a hope of being able to intercept and capture the begum and moulvie, both of whom had fled in that direction after their expulsion from the capital, and, on the third day, he came within sight of the enemy's troops at Bary, twenty nine miles north of Lucknow. After a brisk skirmish in which the 7th dragoons lost five killed and wounded, the enemy made off with their usual rapidity, and it being then ascertained that the two leaders had separated—the begum proceeding further northward,

and the moulvie to the west—General Grant discontinued the useless pursuit, and moved towards the east in the direction of Beraitch. On reaching Ramnuggur, upon the 19th, as no reliable information could be obtained of the begum's movements, the column returned by easy marches to Lucknow, via Nuwabgunge, and reached the capital on the 21st of the following month, the expedition being altogether barren of any important result.

During the interval of his absence, the eastern part of the province was infested by rebel bands of considerable strength, and it became known that, at Beraitch and Tyzabnd, formidable preparations were making in the way of collecting troops and ammunition, for the commencement of another campaign. From the first named place it was reported that Lucknow was again menaced, and that messages had been conveyed to the native inhabitants to leave the city, that they might escape the certain fate of the Europeans, which was to be death by indiscriminate slaughter. On the 10th of May, a large body of rebels of all arms, approached within seven miles of Lucknow, and a letter of that date says—

‘The people are flocking away from the town in great numbers, the reason they assign for this is, that the moulvie is going to attack the town. How far this may be true I cannot pretend to say but one thing is certain—that they are collecting provisions at Nuwabgunge, and that their numbers are increasing rapidly every day. This frightens people, and our inaction gives ground for the belief that we shall be besieged.’—Another letter of the same date has the following passages—‘The atmosphere is thickening, and we are making preparations accordingly arrangements are being made for guarding against a surprise, should the enemy attempt to rush in at night, packets are posted in every direction to give early notice of their approach, and Grant's column has been requested to take a turn in the Cawnpore road and march up to us. We can muster now that the column is out, 1,500 infantry for work, besides sentries for all the posts, and we are strong in artillery.’—The rumoured approach of a rebel force continued to gain strength, and, on the 17th of the month, a correspondent from the city wrote thus—‘Since my last we have been in a great state of excitement owing to several conflicting reports which reached us, that the moulvie, Sahib, intended



paying us a visit. Last Friday we heard that he was as close as ten miles of this, with a very large force, composed chiefly of Rohillas, who, on this occasion, had decided they came prepared to die, if they could not enable the moulvie to fulfil his oath of praying the day following, should it happen to be the 12th, in Lucknow city. Saturday came, and passed over, but no moulvie was visible. We then heard he had postponed his attack until Sunday, on the night of which there was to be a riot and general rising of the people. Sunday, also, passed away in apprehension, but still in safety. Thus we have had the cry of 'Wolf! wolf!' but no wolf has ventured to present himself as yet."

It was, however, quite evident that the delay on the part of the rebels did not arise from a deficiency of strength to make the threatened attack, as it had been clearly ascertained that the aggregate amount of the insurgent forces dispersed over Oude, under the command of the moulvie and other leaders of note, did not fall short of 120,000 men, having among them from eighty to ninety guns. As June wore on, these bands had made a simultaneous movement towards Lucknow, and had, on several occasions, very materially endangered the communication between that city and Cawnpore. At Osnoo, an intermediate station between those places, Mr Lawrence, the deputy-commissioner, had been ordered to look to his own safety, as, owing to the weakness of the Lucknow garrison, no assistance could be given him in the event of his being attacked; and, in truth, assuming the statements in the following letter of the 23rd of May to be correct, the state of Oude was in every direction imminently serious. The writer says—"I will detail what I am myself acquainted with, so as to render future letters intelligible. In the north, at a place called Bourdee or Bounree, and other places contiguous, are the begum, Mummoo Khan (her paramour—the gentleman who had the power delegated to him of passing sentence of death on all Christians, Jackson and Orr to wit, who were shot, not hanged, as generally supposed, at the Tara Kotel), and Birjees Kudr, the worthy son of a worthy mother, these have with them about 5,000 troops and eight guns. They have with them the moulvie and Nerput Sing. The former is at present encamped outside the walls of Slorhea, and is repre-

sented to be a man of daring courage, that is, he is foremost in action, when no gora logue are present, and the first to show his heels when there are. This man has at his command, on the average, 50,000 men, and, deducting waifs and strays, commands some 20,000 effective men, and eighteen guns. Nerput Sing is the talookdar of the Slorhea district; he has some 5,000 men with him, and eight guns. This is the man who commanded the fort of Roohia, when General Walpole's column appeared before it, but the less said about that circumstance the better. The fort was supposed to have been destroyed, if it was, Nerput is not a man to be trifled with, for his stronghold has been repaired, and the guns mounted upon the same prove that he is prepared for another such an affair—a trifle—as that of the 14th of April. There are many Adrian Hopes to spare. The moulvie and Nerput are now together, and with them is Hurdul Sing, the rajah of Boondee, who commands some 3,000 men and five guns. Into this conclave have been recently admitted the Nana, Khan Bahadoor Khan, and Feroze Shah, with all the Bareilly fugitives. I may add, that after the Nana fled from Bithoor, he received great assistance from Nerput Sing, among others. The total of forces against us to the north, amount to, in round numbers, some 70,000 men and twenty-five guns, and are distributed within an angle, north east and north-west from Lucknow, none at present being nearer to the capital than twenty, nor further than a hundred miles. I must not forget to add that, at Mahadeo, Byram Ghat, Hamnuggur, and Sadatunge, four miles south of the latter, there are some 12,000 men with eleven guns. All these places are round and about Nuwahunge, a town on the Gogra, fifty miles west of Lucknow. Between the angle south east and south west of Lucknow, our principal enemy is Beni Malido Sing, who has now with him 12,000 men and ten guns. This man, in the eyes of his followers, is looked upon as a great one, as having stemmed General Grant's column at Simree. Numbers are flocking to him since that event, and he is evidently bent on mischief of some sort on the Lucknow and Cawnpore roads. Besides these, we have, as independent leaders, Denghjoy Sing, of Ouncurea, Mohona, who, with some 3,000 men and five guns, is everywhere plundering the district,

Dabee Bux, commonly called the rajah of Gonda, with 20,000 men (he is just now at a place called Mowrawa), Huipurshed, chukledar of Kharabad, near Seetapore, to the north, with 4,000 men and three guns, Mansahib Allee, with 2,000 men and six guns, at Poorwa (this man is now becoming conspicuous), Goorbux Sing, rajah of Bitowlee, commands the services of some 15,000, with the aid of five guns. Of rebel troops there are great numbers in the various districts, who sometimes attach themselves to one leader, and then to another, but whose principal occupation appears to be solely plunder. This is the position we are in now, and the total number of men of all classes in arms against us, cannot be less than 120,000, with between fifty and sixty guns."

Continuing slowly their desultory approach towards the capital, and destroying in their path whatever savoured of loyalty to the English authorities, the rebels had, so early as the 4th of June, burnt all the villages up to within four miles north, and north west, of Lucknow, and it was then deemed necessary, for the security of the city, to destroy the stone bridge over the Goomtee, leaving the iron bridge as the only approach to the place from the north. In short, everything indicated a design to beleague and attack the place, and the state of apprehension in which the inhabitants were kept, was represented as baffling all description.

At length it was considered proper to put an end to operations that produced so much needless anxiety, and at midnight on the 12th of June, Sir Hope Grant, with a column of all arms, amounting to 5,000 men, marched for Chinbut on his way to beat up the quarters of a division of the enemy, reported to be commanded by the monvie. The night was dark, but the guides were skilful, and the force, without accident reached Quadringunge, near Nuwabgunge, where it was to cross the Beti Nuddee. Here the advanced guard was challenged by a picket of the enemy, and the column halted. At daylight it again moved forward and crossed the bridge, under a fire of musketry, and guns so placed in adjacent topes, as to sweep the line of advance. The enemy's fire was well directed, but, for-

tnnately, the river bank was sufficiently elevated to cover the bridge, and the approach to it, and as soon as the artillery had got up and opened fire, the rebels began to retire to their main body (about 16,000 strong), a short distance in the rear of a tope and ravine. The troops followed, and in a short time found themselves surrounded—a heavy ill directed fire opening upon them from the brushwood in their front, their rear, and both flanks. Encouraged by the success of the manœuvre by which the European troops had been, as it were, drawn into a trap, the rebels ventured to emerge from the wood, and bringing their guns into the plain, commenced an assault, but Grant's artillery, only 200 yards distant, opened upon them with such a destructive shower of grape, as inflicted a fearful slaughter in their ranks, and deterred them from any further effort to attack. While yet hesitating, two squadrons of cavalry, and one of Hodson's horse, charged with the infantry, and cut down about 500 of them, and the remainder of the insurgent force, finding themselves beaten on all points, retired precipitately on Nuwabgunge, where they remained till the following day, when they were driven out with considerable loss by the English troops, leaving also a great portion of their baggage behind them. At noon on the 14th, Sir H. Grant occupied Nuwabgunge, which he at once proceeded to fortify. The rebels, who had retired to Bitowlee, at the confluence of the rivers Gogra and Chowka lost no time in throwing up strong earthworks for their protection at that place. The loss sustained by them in the action of the 13th, amounted, in killed and wounded, to 1,000 men, with nine guns and two standards that on the British side amounted to thirty six killed, and sixty-two wounded.

The following is Sir H. Grant's report of his victory at Nuwabgunge, as transmitted to the deputy adjutant general—

"Head quarters, Camp Nuwabgunge, 17th June

"Sir,—I have the honour to report to you for the information of his excellency the commander in chief that on the morning of the 12th instant, I arrived with the column noted below\* at Chinbut where a garrison column had been stationed, under command of Colonel Purnell during my absence to the south of Lucknow. At this place I ascertained

\* Artillery—One troop horse artillery; two light field batteries. Cavalry—H.M.'s 2nd dragoon guards (two squadrons), H.M.'s 7th hussars, 1st Sikh infantry cavalry (one squadron); one troop mounted

police; Hodson's horse. Infantry—2nd battalion rifle brigade, 3rd battalion rifle brigade, 5th Punjab rifles; detail of engineers and sappers. (The total number amounted to about 5,000 of all arms.)

that a large force of rebels, amounting to some 10,000, with a good many guns, had taken up a position along a nullah in the neighbourhood of Nuwabgunge, twelve miles from Chinhat.

"I determined to start at night, though there was no moon, and to get close to this nullah before daybreak. I accordingly directed all baggage and supplies to be left at Chinhat, under charge of Colonel Purnell, and formed up my column along the Tzabad road, at 11 o'clock, P.M. The nullah ran across this road about four miles from Nuwabgunge, over which there was an old stone bridge, but, knowing that there was a large jungle about three miles to the north of the town, I determined to cross at a ford, or rather causeway, which lay about two miles above the bridge, that I might get between the enemy and this jungle. We got off soon after eleven o'clock, and the whole march was performed with the greatest regularity, though a great part of the way was across country.

"The advanced guard arrived within a quarter of a mile of the nullah which ran along the front of the enemy's position, about half an hour before daybreak on the morning of the 13th. The column was halted, and the men had some refreshment. As soon as it was light, the force advanced towards the ford, which was defended by a body of the enemy, strongly posted in tops of trees and ravines, supported by three guns. Three horse artillery guns of Captain Mackinnon's troop, and Captain Johnson's battery, were immediately got into position, to cover the passage of the advanced guard. The enemy's guns were soon silenced, and one of them turned over, and the advance, consisting of two horse artillery guns, under Lieutenant McLeod, two squadrons of cavalry, under Captain Stated (7th hussars) and Lieutenant Prendergast, Wade's horse, and 200 infantry, under Major Oxenden, immediately crossed, and took up a position on the other side.

"Our two guns opened fire, and the rifles advanced in gallant style, in skirmishing order, under heavy fire, soon drove the enemy from his first position. The remaining guns of the horse artillery, Captain Johnson's battery, and a portion of the cavalry, immediately followed, and I at once advanced, at a trot, against what appeared to be the centre of the enemy's position. As soon as the dust cleared off, the enemy were to be seen all round, and their guns opened in my front, and on both flanks. The troop of horse artillery immediately got into action to the front, and Captain Johnson's battery, supported by two squadrons of the 2nd dragoons under Major Seymour, I sent to engage the enemy on my left, where they were in very considerable force.

"About this time, a large portion of the enemy, cavalry and infantry, and two guns, moved round to my right rear, in the direction of the ford, expecting, no doubt, to find my baggage crossing, but Hodson's horse, under Major Daly, C.B. a squadron of the police horse, under Lieutenant Hill, and the 3rd battalion of the rifle brigade, under Lieutenant-colonel Olyn had just crossed and were ready to receive them. It is a body of cavalry, and two companies of the rifles under the command of Captain Athertley, formed line to the right, and advanced against them. Major Carleton's battery, which was following, had some difficulty in crossing the ford; but, as soon as he got two guns across, he brought them up to the support of Major Daly.

"Here the enemy offered considerable opposition. The rifles charged them twice with the sword, cutting up many. Major Daly detached a hundred cavalry under Lieutenant Meecham and Lieutenant the Hon J Fraser, to act upon their left, while he, with the remainder of his cavalry, charged them in front. Lieutenant Meecham led his men on gallantly over broken ground, and was severely wounded.

"The remainder of Major Carleton's battery was brought up by Lieutenant Percival, into a good position on the right, and in time to open with considerable effect on the enemy as they retired. Meanwhile, Captain Mackinnon's troop of horse artillery, supported by the 7th hussars, under the command of Major Sir W Russell, was hotly engaged to the front and left; as also Captain Johnson's battery, which was on my extreme left. The enemy in my front having been driven back, Mackinnon's troop changed front to the left, and the troop and battery advanced, supported by the cavalry and the remainder of the 3rd battalion rifle brigade, which had come up, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Olyn. The enemy here, also, were driven from their position after a sharp cannonade.

"The action on my proper right having commenced again with great vigour, I proceeded in that direction, leaving Colonel Hagar to superintend the troops on the left. On arriving at this point, I found a large number of Ghazees, with two guns, had come out on the open plain, and attacked Hodson's horse, with two guns of Major Carleton's battery, which covered my rear. I immediately ordered up the other four guns, under the command of Lieutenant Percival, and two squadrons of the 7th hussars, under the command of Major Sir W Russell, and opened grape upon the force within three or four hundred yards, with terrible effect. But the rebels made the most determined resistance, and two men, in the midst of a shower of grape, brought forward two green standards, which they planted in the ground beside their guns, and raised their men. Captain Athertley's two companies of the 3rd battalion rifle brigade at this moment advanced to the attack, which obliged the rebels to move off. The cavalry then got between them and the guns, and the 7th hussars, led gallantly by Major Sir W Russell, supported by Hodson's horse, under Major Daly, C.B., swept through them twice, killing every man. I must here mention the gallant conduct of two officers of the 7th hussars—Captain Bushe and Captain Fraser. The latter I myself saw surrounded by the enemy, and fighting his way gallantly through them all, he was severely wounded in the hand.

"About this time, Brigadier Horsford advanced with the 5th Punjab infantry, under Major Vaughan, being joined by the two companies of the rifles, under Captain Athertley, and two of Major Carleton's guns, under Lieutenant Percival, and proceeded against a body of the enemy, which had taken up a position on their extreme proper left, in a large top of trees, having two guns in position. Brigadier Horsford advanced steadily in skirmishing order, under a sharp cannonade from the enemy's guns, which were well served, and supported by large bodies of infantry. The enemy was soon pressed; they retired their guns some distance, and then re-opened them; but, in a few minutes, they were carried in gallant style, without the aid of any cavalry. This closed the action on my left, front,

end right. The enemy having, at the commencement of the action, detached a large force which seriously threatened our rear, Brigadier Horsford sent the 2nd battalion rifle brigade to hold them in check. This duty was ably performed by Lieutenant colonel Hill. The advance of the enemy was not only checked but they were forced to retire with considerable loss.

"I trust, through the mercy of God this severe blow to the rebels will be the means of quieting all this part of the country."

After naming several officers of the division who had distinguished themselves in this action, the major-general proceeds to observe —

"I have to bring to notice the conduct of private Samuel Shaw, of the 3rd battalion rifle brigade, who is recommended by his commanding officer for the Victoria Cross. An armed rebel had been seen to enter a tops of trees, some officers and men ran into the tops, in pursuit of him. This man was a Ghazee. Private Shaw drew his short sword, and with that weapon rushed single handed on the Ghazee. Shaw received a severe tulwar wound but after a desperate struggle he killed the man. I trust his excellency will allow me to recommend this man for the Victoria Cross and that he will approve of my having issued a divisional order, stating that I have done so.

"I would now report the good and gallant conduct of Rifleman Man Singh and Jemadar Hussan Ali, both of Hodson's horse the former came to the assistance of Lieutenant Baker, and was severely wounded, the latter dismounted and sword in hand cut up some gunners who remained with their guns.

From all the information which I can obtain the enemy must have left between five and six hundred dead bodies on the field and their wounded must have been very numerous.

In conclusion I beg to point out that the troops were under arms from 10 P.M. on the 12th until 9 A.M. on the 13th during a most oppressive night they made a march of ten miles and in the morning fought an action of three hours duration. All officers and soldiers did their utmost and their exertions deserve high praise—I have the honour to be sir your most obedient servant,

J HOPK GRANT Major General  
Commanding Lucknow Field Force

The following letter supplies some interesting particulars of the above action —

"Lucknow, June 14th

"Grant has added one more to the list of successes, in an action which he fought the day before yesterday. He marched from Chinbut, five miles towards Nuwabgunge, on the Fyzabad road. Then leaving his baggage, he took a turn to the left, and came up with the rebels, who are supposed to have been under the moulvie's command. The enemy made a good stand, attacking Grant in

front and rear, and on both flanks, and, more wonderful still, bringing their guns into the open plain, hoisting two green flags, and shouting 'Deen! Deen!' Our guns opened on them at 200 yards, mowing them down by dozens. Two squadrons of the Bays, and one of Hodson's, with two companies of infantry, advanced and cut up about 500 of the enemy—all regular fanatics (Ghazees), who all died fighting, and not a man round the guns escaped."

It does not appear, from the report of Sir Hope Grant, that the redoubtable moulvie of Fyzabad, who for so long a time had been the directing genius of the storm that raged over Oude, was personally present in the action of Nuwabgunge, but whether so or not, his turbulent career was approaching its climax, and the shaft that laid him low was comparatively from an inglorious hand. On the 15th of June, the moulvie, after a hundred escapes from the battle field, arrived before Powanee—an insignificant town, about sixteen miles north of Shahjehanpore—accompanied by a strong party of cavalry and some guns. Bent upon vengeance, he here surrounded the ghurree of the Rajah Juggurath Singh, and demanded the persons of a talseeldar and thanadar, who had given umbrage to him, and sought refuge with the rajah. The peremptory demand was met by denial, and an attack commenced. The rajah, supported by two of his brothers and their adherents, led out his forces to oppose the moulvie, and an engagement ensued, which lasted nearly three hours. In the course of this affair, according to one account, the moulvie was shot, and the moment he fell, his head was struck off by order of Buldeo Singh one of the brothers of the rajah, who forthwith dispatched it, with the trunk, to the English commissioner at Shahjehanpore, by whom he was declared entitled to the reward of £5 000, offered by government for the capture or death of the formidable rebel.\* The whole province of Oude was, by the end of June, in a frightfully unsettled condition, since every ryot or zemindar suspected of a leaning to the English cause, was systematically attacked by the insurgents, and if vanquished, was put to death without mercy—the rebel leaders, who by this time were convinced they had no chance in the field with the British commander, venting their rage and

\* The Times correspondent alluding to this occurrence at a subsequent period gives the following version — The moulvie has fallen by the treachery

of our friend the rajah of Powanee—for treachery it was if it be true as I have heard that the fanatic was shot while engaged in a parley."

disappointment upon their own countrymen, who were by no means such dangerous enemies.

In the Deccan, the Rohillas and Arabs, who could not find employment in the Nizam's force, collected in bands for marauding purposes, and as, in one locality alone, near Aurungabad, their numbers were estimated at between four and five hundred, they were sufficiently formidable to cause anxiety to the government. For the repression of these irregular gatherings, the Nizam and his ministers were held responsible, but it did not appear that they had power to meet the emergency, or to reduce to order the zemindars who encouraged, for their own purposes, the outrages of the lawless bands that swarmed over the country in search of plunder and sensual indulgence. Thus, it was the practice among these landholders, if any one of them had, or imagined he had, a grievance, to call to his aid the unemployed Rohillas and Arabs, who, for their own gratification and advantage, would eagerly adopt the grievance as their own, collect their bonds, and attack, plunder, and violate, in any direction required. Under some such circumstances the village of Sonapat, in the Madras presidency, was attacked by a predatory band, and plundered, property being carried off to the extent of four lacs of rupees, houses wantonly destroyed, and the female inhabitants shamefully outraged. Of the Hindoo women thus treated, several, unable to bear the scene of degradation to which they had been reduced, found relief from their anguish by self-destruction. Other places were similarly attacked, with the like results, and the entire district was kept in a state of terror by the movements of these "free lances," who recognised no law but that of the sword, and no control beyond their own will.

It will have been observed, that throughout the whole of the contest that began in May, 1857, and had scarcely reached its climax at the end of 1858, the rebels invariably succeeded in escaping after defeat; they neither surrendered as prisoners of war, nor remained in the captured towns to risk the chances of being punished or pardoned. Nimble of foot, lightly weighted, and able to fly through roads and jungles better known to themselves than to their pursuers, they always made use of the intelligence imparted by their spies among the country-people, to arrange their plans of retreat,

and they were enabled to act upon them, because the British were seldom or never in such force as might completely surround the places they besieged. Thus it had been in Behar, in Oude, Rohilkand, and the Donb—in Bundelkand, Rajpootana, and Central India, and the consequence was, that the duties of the army became more onerous and tedious than really dangerous, since in the open field there could be nothing to fear from an enemy always retreating, but in the multifarious operations in which the troops were engaged while divided into numerous small columns, each depending for success on the judgment of its individual leader, there was much to harass and wear out the strongest of the brave men who were now, as it were, destined to undergo the fatigues of a guerilla war under the burning sun of India.

With the capture of Calpee\* the labours of the Central India field force seemed at the moment to have terminated. The last stronghold of the enemy was supposed to have fallen, and with it his guns, stores, and munitions of war; thus there appeared no object of sufficient magnitude and importance to demand the combined energies of the several brigades of which that force was composed. Sir Hugh Rose had suffered so fearfully from exposure, and from repeated attacks of sun stroke, that he had resolved to decline further active service, and to proceed by Allahabad to Bombay on sick certificate, but, previous to his intended departure, the gallant general announced the breaking up of the force, and took leave of the brave men under his command in a spirited and eloquent general order, which came home to the hearts of his soldiers. The document, written with a considerable degree of pathos, at once expressed the heartfelt sincerity of the writer, and excited feelings of deep sympathy for the failing hero throughout the force he had so often led to victory.

The address to the troops ran as follows —

"Head quarters, Camp, Calpee, 1st June  
"Soldiers!—You have marched more than a thousand miles, and taken more than a hundred guns. You have forced your way through mountain passes, and intricate jungles, and over rivers. You have captured the strongest forts, and beaten the enemy, no matter what the odds, whenever you met him. You have restored extensive

\* See ante p. 299

districts to the government, and peace and order now exist, where before, for a twelvemonth, were tyranny and rebellion. You have done all this, and you never had a check. I thank you with all sincerity for your bravery, your devotion, and your discipline. When you first marched, I told you, that you, as British soldiers, had more than enough of courage for the work which was before you, but that courage without discipline was of no avail, and I exhorted you to let discipline be your watchword. You have attended to my orders. In hardships, in temptations, and dangers, you have obeyed your general, and you have never left your ranks, you have fought against the strong, and you have protected the rights of the weak and defenceless—of foes as well as of friends. I have seen you, in the ardour of the combat, preserve and place children out of harm's way. This is the discipline of Christian soldiers, and it is what has brought you triumphant from the shores of Western India to the waters of the Jumna, and establishes, without doubt, that you will find no place before which the glory of your arms can be dimmed."

This gratifying tribute to his brave followers had scarcely been issued, when the general received intelligence which convinced him that the proposed distribution of his force, and his own retirement from active service, must, for the present at least, be postponed. Gwalior, the capital of Scindia's dominions had fallen into the hands of the rebels, and the chief himself was a fugitive in the English camp.

It will be in memory, that early in July of the preceding year, nearly the whole of Scindia's army—the Gwalior contingent, numbering close on 12,000 men, as well armed and disciplined as any troops in India—had joined the insurrection,\* and, from that time, had formed one of the most formidable bodies in arms against the government. It was these men who shut up General Windham in Cawnpore, and were only driven from their prey by the hurried return of the commander in chief from Lucknow. A large portion of them then joined the rebel garrisons of Jhansi and Calpee, considered strongholds peculiarly capable of maintaining an obstinate and protracted resistance. Of the whole Gwalior contingent, some 6,000 only remained faithful to the maharajah when the bulk of his force abandoned him, and

the time had now arrived when their fidelity also gave way, under the pressure of circumstances and the influence of religious hatred.

From the time of the desert at Konch, Gwalior was looked to by the discomfited rebels as a city of refuge, and as soon as Calpee fell, a general rush in that direction was made. The approach of the rebel bands was announced, and Scindia, who had abundant cause to doubt the soundness of the troops that remained with him, determined, nevertheless, to abide the storm, and bear it as he best might, inasmuch as his repeated appeals to the governor general for European aid, to avert the danger he well knew to be impending, had been without any beneficial result.

Some days before the fall of Calpee, it had become known that the rebel leader, Tantia Topce, had moved away from that place to the westward, with a portion of the force under his command, and his destination, not apparent at the time, afterwards turned out to be Gwalior. On arriving near that place, he separated himself from the troops he had brought with him, and proceeded, with a few trusty adherents, to the cantonments, where the remaining troops of the contingent were quartered, and there he occupied himself in tampering with the soldiers, and preparing them to welcome the rebels, whom he foresaw would very shortly be on their route thither from Calpee, and his intrigues were, as seen in the sequel, too successful.

Shortly after daybreak on the 1st of June, scouts reported that the rebels, driven from Calpee, were approaching the capital, and a short time sufficed to prove the correctness of the intelligence. They came on in great strength, under the nominal command of Rao Sahib, nephew of the Nana, but as soon as they came near the place, Tantia Topce emerged from his shelter and assumed command. With the force, also, was the rane of Jhansi—a woman whose conduct was not to be scanned by the usual tests applied to her sex, since but for her relentless cruelty to the Europeans at her capital on the 8th of June, 1857, she might have been looked upon as deserving admiration, if not entitled to respect. That she had been goaded to a desperate and unprofitable revenge by some real or imaginary wrong perpetrated by the Company in carrying out their favourite system of annexation, was one among many questions of

\* See vol. I, p. 418.

a similar kind forced by events upon public consideration, and supposing her sincere in a belief that territory had been unjustly taken from her, her conduct (setting aside her cruelty) had something of the stamp of heroism about it. Perfectly Amazonian in courage and example, she led her troops to the field in person, armed, and actually fighting like a man, stimulating her followers to contend to the last against the Peringhees, and at length sealing her testimony against them by a soldier's death upon the field.

The enemy's force, as it approached the capital of Scindia, consisted of 4,000 cavalry, 7,000 infantry, and twelve guns, and, for the most part, it was composed of well disciplined soldiers, belonging to the Bengal army and to several of the contingents that had fallen into the stream of revolt, and who were all exasperated by the successive disasters that had befallen them in their various conflicts with the British troops. They had now, however, opponents of different mettle—men of their own country and faith, and of numbers far inferior to their own, and in the present instance, therefore, success was far from improbable, since, besides the sword, they had the rallying cry of 'Deen!' and the standard of the prophet to excite a powerful influence on their behalf. The force of the maharajah consisted of 600 cavalry (forming his body-guard), 6,000 infantry, and eight guns, and on the morning of the 1st of June, placing himself at their head, Scindia marched out to encounter the advancing enemy. The forces met, shortly after daybreak, upon a plain about two miles from Morar—the cantonment of Gwalior, and so soon as the guns of the maharajah opened upon the rebels, about 2,000 of their cavalry made a desperate charge upon them, cut down the gunners, and secured the guns. The maharajah's body guard fought with great determination for the protection of their chief and the recovery of the guns, and had above 200 killed in the attempt, but the moment the guns were captured, 2,000 of the Gwalior troops went over in a body to the enemy, and fired upon such of their comrades as remained loyal. After a short time, the whole of the force, with the exception of the body-guard, either fled from the field or joined the ranks of the enemy. Under such circumstances of treachery and defection, it was useless to attempt further opposition, and Scindia fled with the remnant

of his guard to Agra, whither they were hotly pursued by the rebel cavalry. The Baeza Baer (widow of a former prince of Gwalior), with Scindia's family, had already escaped from the capital to Seprea, and were in safety, but the principal officers and attendants of the maharajah's court, only preserved their lives by scattering themselves over the country in all directions, and in disguise.

As soon as Scindia had fled, the rebels entered and took possession of his capital, where they attempted to form a regular government. The arch traitor, Nana Sahib, was chosen as Peishwa, or chief of the Mahratta confederacy of princes. Rao Sahib was appointed chief of Gwalior, and Ram Rao Govind, an individual who had some time before been dismissed Scindia's service for dishonesty, became prime minister. These selections were assented to by the traitors of the late army of Scindia, as well as by the other rebels, who were all gratified with a certain number of months' pay for their services in the achievement that had ended in the plunder of the capital. The army, constituted as the present one had been, prosecuted, however, a great difficulty to the new government. The insurgents from Calpee, and the newly revolted troops of Scindia, had certainly worked together for a common object in the present instance, but there was an ill feeling among them, and nothing could overcome it but a liberal distribution of money, partly as arrears of pay, and partly as a reward. The greater portion of the rebel force, under the immediate command of the rance of Jhansie, remained outside the city, encamped in a large garden called the Phool Bagh, and to this female leader was entrusted the charge of protecting all the approaches to the city. The property of the principal inhabitants was sequestered, as a punishment for their real or alleged adherence to the maharajah and his British allies, and the immense treasure belonging to the former, which he had been unable to remove from the palace before his flight, was betrayed into the hands of the rebel chiefs by the late treasurer of the fugitive prince, and by this means they were enabled to reward their troops with pay and gratuities. The whole of the royal property was confiscated, and four Mahratta chieftains of the district of Shekawattie, who had some time previously offended Scindia by declaring their independence, and had been captured and

imprisoned by him for so doing, were set at liberty by the new authorities, and received insignia and dresses of honour from the plundered treasury, on condition of raising forces in their several localities to oppose any British troops who might attempt to cross the Chumbul and approach the capital. The civil station, or residency, was plundered and burnt, the prisons opened and such among the inmates as were likely to be useful, by their daring or cunning, were appointed to active duties. Letters of invitation were dispatched to the rajas of all the adjacent districts assuring them of the ultimate success of the native arms, and calling upon them to present themselves and their levies at the seat of the new government.

Some details of the action of the 1st of June, and of the proceedings of the rebels in Gwalior, are supplied by the following extract from a communication to the *Dombay Standard*—

"The maharajah took up a position some distance to the eastward of the Morar cantonment, and awaited the attack of the rebels. His troops were drawn up in three divisions, of which the central one, consisting chiefly of the body guard, was under his own command. The enemy came on in a cloud of mounted skirmishers, on which the left division instantly broke and fled, deserting their guns, and throwing away their arms. The centre stood firm, and fought manfully. The right division soon followed the example of the left and their guns also fell into the hands of the rebels, the *centre division then fell back, at first* steadily and in good order, the body guard charging the enemy's ranks three times with great determination and effect they were, however, speedily outflanked, owing to the defection of the other divisions, and at length their guns also were captured in a terrific charge of the enemy's horse. The maharajah who up to this moment had remained with his troops, encouraging them by his example and personal exertions, was then compelled to quit the field, and instead of going back to the Lushkur, where all was in confusion, he made his escape by the Sangor Tal and residency. The fight was for a short time renewed at the Phool Bagh where a party of the body guard and some Mahattas offered a stout resistance until the rebels brought up three of the captured guns, and soon overwhelmed them. About 400 of the body guard are said to have been killed. There is no doubt that Tantia Topee

was for two or three previous days concealed in the Lushkur, where he arranged the plot which has for a time placed Gwalior in his hands. The maharajah, though anxious for the arrival of European troops, was quite taken by surprise at the defection of his force, and had made no arrangements to meet such a contingency, hence there was no possibility of doing anything to recover himself. The *rauco went off towards* Sepree whilst the fight was going on, and it is hoped has safely reached the camp of the Kotah brigade, which was on its way back from Chanderodeo to Gwalior."

It has already been mentioned that Sir Hugh Rose had issued a valedictory address to the troops under his command, and was about to relinquish further active service, when intelligence of the events at Gwalior reached him. The moment he learned that his presence was required to the northward of Calpee, he changed his plan, and made arrangements to head a force for the recovery of Gwalior, and there consummate the work he had hoped had been already brought triumphantly to its close. General Whitlock was summoned to garrison Calpee and Sir Hugh Rose, pushing forward his army in divisions, under Brigadiers Stuart and Napier followed with the last division on the 6th of June for Gwalior. The march from point to point occupied nine days and was performed without a single interruption. On the evening of the 15th, the troops were within ten miles of the cantonments and the general, with a strong guard, *advanced to reconnoitre*. He found the cantonments occupied by small parties of cavalry and infantry—the great mass of the rebel troops having retired on the town. Meanwhile Brigadier Smith's brigade from Sepree which had been joined by Major Orr's force from Jhansi, moved on in advance of the main body, and occupied a position at Kotah Serai five miles south of the fort. After a brief *reconnaissance*, Sir Hugh ordered an advance on the Morar cantonment which was about three miles from the town, and separated from it by the Suvarnawaha river. The troops advanced and drove the enemy before them, part of the rebel force with the guns escaped over a bridge into the town but a considerable number were driven along the whole length of the cantonments being cut off from the line of retreat by the horse artillery. As this portion of the rebel force emerged from the cantonments, they were charged and



destroyed in great numbers by the 71st regiment, but some of them, who had posted themselves in an intrenched nullah, made a desperate resistance. A party of the sepoya had taken refuge from the pursuing horse artillery in a deep and narrow nullah, out of which they kept up a brisk and annoying fire of musketry. A company of the 71st highlanders came up, and went straight at the ditch, where the leading officer, Lieutenant Wyndham Neave, was shot, but the next moment his men were down among the rebels, and his death was sternly avenged. The spot was too confined for the use of fire arms, and a terrific contest between the bayonet and tulwar ensued. Steadily the European bayonet bore down the native weapon—the wounded sepoy hugging the steel that pierced him, to deliver with his failing strength one last cut at his opponent. All that hate and despair could do in this mortal struggle was done, but in vain not one single sepoy left the ditch alive. Of the highlanders, besides Lieutenant Neave, three were killed, and five more or less severely wounded. The corpses of the sepoys numbered forty three within the nullah, and sixty at a short distance from it. The day closed with the occupation of the Morar cantonment and the severe punishment of the enemy, who, however, continued to hold the town and fort, with the heights to the eastward of it.

While Sir Hugh's force was still assembling in advance of Indorelee, Sir Robert Hamilton, present with the army as the governor general's agent, sent a despatch to Seindia, at Agra, requesting him to move down at once to the Chumbul, that he might be in readiness to present himself at Gwalior immediately upon its being occupied by the British, or even previous to the assault. Accordingly, on the evening of the 13th, the maharajah quitted Agra with all his followers, escorted by a body of English horse, under Captain Meade. On the 15th he had reached Dholpore, where he found a division of the army, under Colonel Riddell, encamped. Here the maharajah was joined by a great number of fugitives who had deserted from the enemy at Gwalior. On the 16th, heavy firing was heard in the direction of that place, thirty seven miles distant, and the night had not closed when an express arrived from Sir Thomas Hamilton, announcing the capture of the Morar cantonment, and urging the advance of the maharajah. Seindia at once

mounted, and, escorted by Meade's horse, crossed the river, and took the road to his capital.

Early in the morning of the 17th, Brigadier Smith's column was at Kota ki Serai—ten miles from Gwalior, on the river Oomrar. Beyond this point the road crosses or winds among successive ranges of hills, till the plain in which Gwalior lies is attained. Below, and in front of one of these ranges, when morning broke, the enemy's pickets were observed from Kota ki Serai. Skirmishing parties of infantry were immediately thrown across the stream, and a squadron of the 8th hussars followed to reconnoitre. These were soon after fired upon from a concealed battery of three guns. An advance in force was then ordered, the cavalry charged and took the battery, and the infantry at the same time carried and occupied the first range of heights. On the English side, Lieutenant Reilly, of the 8th, was killed, or died of sun stroke, and two other officers were wounded. The loss on the side of the enemy must have been considerable, but the most important incident of the day was the death of the ranee of Jhansie, either by the bullet of a rifle or a splinter of a shell. This extraordinary female, whose age did not exceed twenty years, was in the dress of a mounted officer, superintending the movements of the cavalry on the field, and sharing in all the dangers of the struggle, when struck down. Her body was surrounded by her guard while a pile was raised, and it was then burnt upon the scene of her daring, to prevent its being profaned by the touch of the Feringhees, whom she so mortally hated.

On the following day (the 18th), Brigadier Smith's force remained quiet, merely exchanging long shots with the enemy on the next range of heights, from whence the fire was sufficiently good to be annoying. Sir Hugh Rose, perceiving that the strong positions of the enemy lay all in front of this officer, whose force alone was not sufficient to carry them, determined to join him by a flank march with the greater part of his division, and by a circuit of twelve miles to his left, through Kota ki Serai. The following day reconnaissances of the positions of the enemy on the heights were made by Sir Hugh Rose, and the day being far spent in the examination, orders were given to encamp, as nothing more seemed requisite than to keep the enemy at a distance until the morning. Emboldened by this appearance

of inactivity, the rebel leaders redoubled their practice with the guns, and at length it was found necessary to resort to active operations to put a stop to it. The order was given for the whole force to advance—the 86th, in skirmishing order, on the left; the 71st, in similar order, on the right; and the 95th, the Bombay 25th, and 10th native infantry supporting. A three-gun battery, which had chiefly annoyed the camp, was stormed by the 86th, and the guns captured, together with the heights on the left, the 71st carried those on the right at the same time. All the high ground cleared, the enemy's force—strong in cavalry and artillery—appeared drawn up in the plain below, which was about a mile in breadth. Against these, with the rapidity of the mountain torrent, the hussars and Bombay lancers poured down, the infantry skirmishers advancing at the same time; but the rebels awaited not the conflict, and fled in all directions. The extreme left of the British line was, however, threatened by another body of the mutineers, and the skirmishers, who had outrun their supports, were now compelled to slacken their pace and restrain their ardour. A company of the 95th regiment, reinforced by some men of the 86th, now swept along the heights, and captured two guns at the point of the bayonet. The rebels, after a feeble resistance, fled at all points, and after a running fight of about five hours' duration, the town of Gwalior was occupied by the British troops, the enemy leaving twenty-seven guns in the hands of the victors, and flying in the direction of Kerowlee and Jey-pore. To dispose of these fugitives before they should have time to collect together and arrange further plans of mischief, Brigadier Napier was dispatched, with a flying column of cavalry and horse artillery, in pursuit, while other columns watched their flanks. Coming up with the rebels on the 20th and 21st, the brigadier cut them up fearfully, taking twenty-five more guns, and an immense quantity of ammunition, which they were carrying off. In a telegram announcing the result of the pursuit, the enemy are described as "lying killed in every direction along some miles of country." The brigadier returned from the "death chase" on the 23rd, having, among other trophies of his successes, the person of Ameer Chund Butty, the faithless treasurer of the maharajah, whom he had saved from the sword for a traitor's death by the halter.

Some particulars of this pursuit and engagement are supplied by the following extract from a letter, dated from the Morar encampments, June 27th:—

"Napier's pursuit and dispersion of Tantia Topee's army was one of the most brilliant and dashing feats I ever heard of. Abbott, who was in advance, came in sight of the rebels drawn up, in the act of mustering preparatory to a march. They were, at the very lowest computation, 7,000 in number, and had twenty-five guns. Napier's force numbered 670 men—of dragoons, Merde's horse, 3rd Kessal, 3rd Bombay light cavalry, and one troop of horse artillery—about twenty of these were Europeans. Abbott crept up under the lee of some sand-hills, and made a reconnaissance of the enemy's position, but was at length seen by the rebels, who sent a couple of sowars to find out who he was. One of these gentry was quickly satisfied by a bullet from Abbott's orderly, and the other galloped back to give an alarm. Despite the enormous disparity of the forces, Napier determined to attack the enemy, and the tremendous dust he kicked up, together with the cover of the sand hills, concealed the weakness of our force from the latter. Dragoons, irregulars, and horse artillery, rushed at them with a furious gallop—two rounds being given by the last armed with amazing rapidity. Abbott made a brilliant dash at what proved to be their rear-guard, and after breaking their light foot, blazed into their retreating masses. The enemy's cavalry bolted at once, with Tantia Topee, the nawab of Banda, and other notables, at their head, and over drew rein until they had placed a score of miles between themselves and the British. The infantry and artillery threw away their arms, and fled as hard as they could go. The pursuit was maintained for four miles, and about 250 rebels were cut up, whilst the entire park of twenty-five guns fell into our hands. They are now packed in this encampment. The heavy baggage of the enemy had been sent on the night before, and was out of our reach. It was most fearfully exciting work, and —'s description of it is graphic enough. He says—'I only remember rushing the guns at the enemy and opening fire, all the rest was a blank until my servant awakened me next morning.' However, the fugitive army was utterly broken, and the rebels dispersed in parties of three and four in all directions. There was only one casualty incurred on our

side during this magnificent display of pluck a sowar of the 3rd Ressala was shot dead—*et voila tout !*"

Immediately on taking possession of Gwalior, a royal salute was fired by Sir Hugh Rose to welcome the maharajah back to the capital of his dominions, into which, on the 20th of the month, he was escorted in state, attended by Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Hugh Rose and his staff, and by all the troops in camp. At this moment it was believed that the fort of Gwalior, which commanded the town, had been evacuated by the rebels, and it is evident that due precaution had not been taken to verify the fact until almost too late. Thus, as the cavalcade passed slowly through one of the principal streets of the city, a shot from the walls threw the actors in the pageantry into some confusion. Fortunately, no harm ensued. A short time before the procession entered the town, it had become known to Lieutenant Rose, of the 28th Bombay native infantry, stationed at the Kotwalee, that some Ghazees were still remaining in the fort, but finding they did not exceed from ten to fifteen persons, he proposed (in the absence of his superior officer) to Lieutenant Waller, of the same corps, to go up with their party of sepoy, and take the fort by storm. The brother-officer agreed. Taking a blacksmith with them to force the outer gate, they rushed towards the entrance, which, within the enclosure of the rampart, is towards the north end of the east side, first by means of a steep road, and higher up by steps cut in the face of the rock, of such a size and moderate degree of acclivity, that elephants easily make their way up. This huge staircase was protected on the outside by a wall, and was swept by several traversing guns. Gaining this passage without the slightest resistance, they then forced five gates in succession, and gained the summit of the fort unhurt. Here they separated their little band of twenty into two bodies, and while Waller's party attacked and shot some men who had fired into the town, and had worked a gun at them during their ascent, Rose's followers cut up another party of the rebels, after a desperate hand-to-hand fight on one of the bastions. From this encounter the gallant officer escaped without a wound, but immediately afterwards, while turning to speak to his men, of whom he had got in advance, he was shot through the body, from behind a wall, by a Peshwa, said to be Hakeem Ali of Bareilly, who then

emerging from his concealment, rushed upon the wounded officer, and inflicted two severe cuts with a tulwar. Turning from the prostrate officer, the infuriated rebel rushed towards Lieutenant Waller and his party, but was pierced with balls before he could strike a blow. The wounds of Lieutenant Rose unfortunately proved mortal, and the memory of his daring, and the successful achievement by which the fort was thrown open to its sovereign and his British allies, was thus recorded by Brigadier Stuart (to whose division the gallant officer belonged), in the following general order—

"Brigadier Stuart has received, with the deepest regret, a report of the death of Lieutenant Rose, 28th Bombay native infantry, who was mortally wounded yesterday on entering the fort of Gwalior, on duty with his men. The brigadier feels assured that the whole brigade unites with him in deploring the early death of this gallant officer, whose many sterling qualities, none who knew him could fail to appreciate."

The Hindoo prince, known by his designation of Scindia, in whose behalf the force under Sir Hugh Rose was thus successfully employed, represented in his person the most considerable of the native powers; as, although not in reality at the head of the Mahratta confederacy, he was the strongest member of that great league. The relations which the various branches of that mighty clan of which he was a chief, had successively entered into with the Company's government, were not a little remarkable. The true prince of the Mahrattas, by descent, was the rajah of Satara, with whose claims the British public were not unacquainted, in consequence of the efforts made on his behalf in parliament, some ten years previous to the time referred to. The position, however, of that sovereign family had been usurped by its ministers, with one of whom (Bajee Rao, under the title of *Peshwa*) the Indian government came finally into collision in the year 1818. The result of this was the defeat and subjugation of Bajee Rao, who agreed to relinquish every political right or claim to the sovereignty, in exchange for an annual allowance of eight lacs of rupees, and an asylum at Dindoor—a place of sanctuary near Cawnpore. The dethroned Peshwa, at his death, left no lawful heir; but a pretender to his rights, by adoption, appeared in the person of Nana Sahib, whose disappointment at the non-recognition of his claim, was alleged to be the cause of his

hostility to the Company's government. The rajah of Berar, another Mahratta chief, had died recently without issue, and his dominions had lapsed, in default of heirs, to the Company, and of the great Mahratta stock, once so formidable, but three princes now survived to exercise territorial sovereignty under British protection—the Guicowar at Baroda, Holkar at Oojein, and Scindia at Gwalior.

When the mutinies broke out in the North-Western Provinces of Bengal, in Mar, 1857, Scindia and Holkar, whose territories were continuous, and closely adjacent to the disturbed districts, remained, as we have seen, faithful to their engagements with the Company, and the former, who was by far the more powerful of the two, displayed considerable judgment as well as loyalty in the policy he pursued. In virtue of the arrangements subsisting between himself and the Company's government, he had maintained, from the revenues of his principality, a compact and well-disciplined force of between five and six thousand men, as a "contingent" available in aid of the Bengal army. This force was organised and officered exactly like the sepoy regiments in the service of the Company, and it had proved true to its model in all respects, by joining the mutiny at a very early opportunity. At the time of its defection, the safety of British India trembled in the balance, and had that body of well-armed and well-disciplined men been conducted by no able leader either towards Delhi, Agra, or Lucknow, the consequences at the moment might have been disastrous in the extreme, but Scindia's measures in this emergency were taken with great ability. Like other native princes in his position, he retained in his pay, and under his independent control, a large military force over and above the "contingent" due to the Bengal establishment, and this force he played off against the mutineers.

The departure of the mutinous contingent at length left Scindia with what may be termed his own private army, in his capital city of Gwalior, where, notwithstanding its proximity to Kotah and Jhansie (two of the strongholds of the rebels), and the general disorganisation that pervaded the adjacent country, he for a long time maintained himself in perfect security and unshaken allegiance to British rule, but the moment at last arrived when

the fidelity of his army gave way before the calls made upon it by the discomfited hands from Jhansie and Kotah, and Scindia, despite a valiant resistance, was compelled to fly from his capital, to which he now returned with untarnished honour, and strengthened claims to the confidence of the British government.

The restoration of Scindia to his throne, with all the *prestige* of triumph and of Oriental pomp that circumstances would admit of at the moment, was considered necessary, as showing to his people that the British government would promptly and firmly support a faithful ally, and also as an encouragement to other native princes to remain faithful. It was also necessary that the victors should be enabled to judge, from his information on the spot, who among the inhabitants of the capital had merited punishment, or were justly entitled to reward, and it was deemed a favourable augury, that to the course of the progress of the maharajah from the camp to the palace, the people who lined the streets manifested unequivocal symptoms of rejoicing at the restoration of their prince. Immediately upon this ceremonial being concluded, the officers of the court resumed their duties. The harem of Scindia arrived in safety, and by the night of the 22nd of June, few traces of the revolution were apparent in the palace of the maharajah.

When Gwalior had been fairly cleared of rebels, and order was re-established, two congratulatory documents were issued to the army by the governor general and the commander-in-chief. The first was as follows—

\* Foreign Department, Allahabad June 24th

The right honourable the governor general has the highest gratification in announcing that the town and fort of Gwalior were conquered by Major-General Sir Hugh Rose on the 19th instant after a general action in which the rebels who had usurped the authority of Maharajah Scindia, were totally defeated. On the 26th of June the Maharajah Scindia attended by the governor general's agent for Central India and Sir Hugh Rose and escorted by British troops was restored to the place of his ancestors and was welcomed by his subjects with every mark of loyalty and attachment. It was on the 1st of June that the rebels aided by the treachery of some of Maharajah Scindia's troops seized the capital of his highness's kingdom and hoped to establish a new government under a pretender, in his highness's territory. Fifteen days had not elapsed before they were compelled to evacuate the town and fort of Gwalior and to relinquish the authority which they had endeavoured to usurp. The promptitude and success with which

the strength of the British government has been put forth for the restoration of its faithful ally to the capital of his territory, and the continued presence of British troops at Gwalior to support his highness in the re-establishment of his administration, offer to all a convincing proof, that the British Government has the will and the power to befriend those who, like Maharajah Scindia, do not shrink from their obligations, or hesitate to avow their loyalty. The right honourable the governor-general, in order to mark his appreciation of the Maharajah Scindia's friendship, and his gratification at the re-establishment of his highness's authority in his ancestral dominions, is pleased to direct that a royal salute shall be fired at every principal station in India.

"By order of the right honourable the governor general of India

(Signed) "G. T. EDMONSTONE"

The second was a general order by the commander-in-chief, which ran thus—

"Adjutant general's Office, Calcutta, June 26th

"The commander in chief congratulates Major-general Sir Hugh Rose very heartily on the successful result of his rapid advance on Gwalior. The restoration of the Maharajah Scindia to his capital by the force under the command of the major-general is a happy termination of the brilliant campaign through which the Central India field force has passed under his able direction.

"That campaign has been illustrated by many engagements in the open field—by the relief of Saugor, the capture of Raigahur Shabghur, and Chunderee; by the memorable siege of Jhansi; by the fall of Calpee, and, lastly, by the reconquest of Gwalior. His excellency again offers his hearty thanks and congratulations to Major-general Sir Hugh Rose, and the gallant troops under his command. It must not be forgotten that the advance of the Central India field force formed part of a large combination, and was rendered possible by the movement of Major-general Roberts of the Bombay army, into Rajpootana, on the one side, and of Major-general Whitlock of the Madras army, on the other, and by the support they respectively gave to Major-general Sir Hugh Rose, as he moved onwards in obedience to his instructions.

The two major generals have well sustained the honour of their presidencies. The siege of Kotah, and the act on of Bando, take rank as one of the best achievements of the war. The commander in chief offers his best thanks to Major-general Roberts to Major-general Whitlock and the various corps under their command. He is happy in welcoming them to the presidency of Bengal.

"By order of his excellency the commander in chief

W. MAYHEW, Lieutenant Colonel Adjutant-general of the Army."

The fall of Gwalior had a most excellent effect throughout the surrounding districts. Rebels who were looking out in Etawah, Agra, and Mynpoore, for opportunity to rise and strike while the English troops should be concentrated and engaged before the city, now quietly subsided into a prudent inactivity. Lal Sing, the rebel chief

of the last-named district, surrendered himself voluntarily to the authorities at Agra, only stipulating for a trial before execution, and throughout the North Western Provinces there prevailed a general change of tone among the natives.

The pursuit and dispersion of a portion of the Gwalior mutineers, by Brigadier Napier, has already been mentioned, but the remainder of them had also to be disposed of. This division of the fugitive army, estimated at from five to six thousand in number, had followed Fatah Topce, who, after his last defeat, led them across the Chumbul, past Shree Muttra and Hindoun, and thence made towards Jeypoor and Bhurtpore, two principal cities of the Rajpoot states, where he expected to receive important aid from the discontented chieftains of the district. This leader carried with him the crown jewels, and an immense treasure belonging to Scindia, with which for some time he was enabled to keep his soldiers together by pay and gratuities; but, for a considerable period, his movements were involved in obscurity, and no decisive effort was made by him to disturb the apparent lull that followed the reconquest of Gwalior.

The subjoined extract from a letter, dated at Gwalior, June 23rd, contains some interesting details connected with the recovery of the city.

"We arrived at Kotah Serai, about five miles from Gwalior, on the morning of the 17th of June. This is a small fort, and a native traveller's bungalow, from which its name is derived. A river runs past the fort, and, as we approached the place, we could see the enemy's cavalry and infantry moving about at the bottom of the hills. To get to Gwalior from the direction in which we came, you must cross a range of hills, and it was at the bottom of these that we first saw the enemy. A company of the 95th, and one of the 10th, were thrown across the river. I mentioned as skirmishers, with some hussars as videttes, whilst another company of the 10th and the 95th, with a squadron of hussars and two guns horse artillery, remained on this side of the river, with the double object of protecting the ford and fort. J— commanded one company, and I the other. About 8 A.M. the squadron of hussars crossed the river to reconnoitre, and as they advanced, a battery, which was unperceived by us, opened fire, and the first shot fell right amongst them, killing one

horse and wounding a trooper severely. This threw them into confusion, and caused them to retire, which they did without sustaining any further injury, though they were fired at several times. About nine o'clock the order was given for the two guns, hussars, and some lancers, with the infantry, to advance, and take possession of the battery and the hills. We did this, the enemy pouring shot into us, till they were silenced by our artillery, and the cavalry which charged. It was a very fine sight to see them charge. As soon as the infantry approached near the hills, we gave such a cheer as evidently frightened the rascals, and charged and took possession of the first range of hills. Instead of allowing us to remain and keep possession of what we had won, we were ordered to retire, and as we came again on the plain, we saw the whole brigade out, but retiring, and we then learnt that the enemy had made a flank movement and were in our camp, and the brigade was retiring to attack them. The rumour turned out to be incorrect, but unfortunately the evil was done. Immediately on our returning, the enemy reoccupied the hills we had vacated, and placed their guns so as to bring us under a cross fire. It was whilst we were again moving up to the attack that Captain Anderson, of the lancers, was wounded, and a few men. After a little time our artillery silenced their guns, our skirmishers took the hills, and the whole brigade advanced further on. By sunset we had possession of the hills, on the right side of the nullah, and the enemy those on the left, which we ought to have held, instead of allowing the enemy to do so. A squadron of the hussars made a splendid charge, capturing three horse artillery guns and burning their camp. In this charge the hussars had some officers and men killed and wounded, Lieutenant Reilly was wounded, and died the same evening, not of his wounds, but of sun stroke. On my return to the camp, on the morning of the 18th, to my disgust, I found no tents pitched. I soon discovered the reason. The enemy, during the night, had made a battery on the hills on the left side of the nullah, which commanded our guns and camp, and it was to prevent the enemy from having any mark to aim at, that we were not allowed to pitch our tents. The heat was something awful, and I could not get any sleep. The heat became so intense, that many in the force put their tents up, but soon had

to take them down again, as shot after shot fell amongst them. All day we played at lang bawls, the enemy moving us excessively by their well directed fire. In the evening the force moved out to make a night attack, as was understood, but nothing came of it, and we returned to camp, and right glad was I to get a good night's rest. The 25th and Woolecombe's battery, and some of the 11th dragoons, arrived in camp on the night of the 17th instant, the rest of Sir H. Rase's force, with the heavy siege guns, on the 18th. On the morning of the 19th our regiment was ordered to move out as cannon shot. It was fortunate for us that we did so, as the enemy had so placed a gun that shot after shot fell in the exact place where our regiment had bivouached, and about half an hour after we had shifted, one round shot cut a horse artilleryman and his horse right in two. It was a horrible sight. About noon of the 19th, the 86th took possession of the battery on the left side of the nullah, which had been annoying us so much. The whole force then crossed the nullah, and by sunset the whole of the hills, with the lines and town, were in our possession. The lancers made a very good charge, and captured some guns, but they went too far and got amongst the lancers in one of which Cornet Mills was shot dead through the chest, he was very much liked. The enemy plied their guns to the last, until our artillery was within three hundred yards of them, then they bolted. The rebels this time were Pucka mutineers, and their gundauze behaved very well and served their guns beautifully. The Bombay artillery no doubt fire well, but then it was thought that on this occasion the firing of the enemy was superior. The rebels were some thousands strong headed by Tantia Topce. They were composed of men of some Bengal regiments and the Gwalior contingent. The whole of the 5th Bengal cavalry were there. How many they lost there is no knowing, as they burnt the bodies, but no doubt a good number bit the dust. We took ten guns, all of which at one time belonged to the Bengal army, they had horse artillery guns with 'Agra,' and other names written on them. On the morning of the 20th, the 23th took possession of the fort. It was at first thought that some severe fighting would take place, as there was only one door to the fort, but the 25th found it partly open, and as they were marching in, some men rushed out, opened

the gate more, and commenced fighting as they were only thirty strong, seeing no chance of escape, and the whole of the 25th being there, after having had some men killed, they commenced parleying, and whilst doing so, a treacherous villain went up to Lieutenant Rose, and shot him through the back and liver. The poor fellow died from hemorrhage on the 31st. The rest of the rebels were immediately cut up. The 25th remained in the fort, and were withdrawn next day. No one was allowed to go into the fort, as there are still some desperate mutineers in it, who have taken an oath that they will kill any one of the force they find there. On the morning of the 20th the fort was made over to Scindia. It is very difficult to exonerate Scindia from all blame in this affair, though he had some men who had remained faithful to him. Not a shot was fired by him in our favour, the opportunity was not wanting. Five Europeans were found hanging by their heels, with their heads cut off. These, undoubtedly, were men who had been killed, but regardless of that fact, this wanton and barbarous act shows the bitter animosity they have against the Feinghees, and how they would treat us if they caught us alive. I have not heard of the extent of the loss on our side, but I know that the 25th have five officers and eighteen men wounded, and some men killed. We have four men severely wounded, but fortunately no officer hurt. A force, consisting of one wing 3rd Europeans, 200 men of the 10th native infantry, and Woolcombe's battery, started at 2 A.M. on the 22nd, and at daylight, a force under Sir H. Rose—the 14th dragoons, 8th hussars, two troops of horse artillery, eighty six men of the Madras sappers, and some siege guns, went in pursuit of the enemy. Part have already returned—the rest are expected to-morrow morning. This is in consequence of their having nothing to do. Several columns have been moving up in this direction lately, consequently the rebels were rather at a loss to know what direction to take, and, unfortunately for them, they came across General Napier's force, which has entirely cut them up, taken twenty-five guns, and their loot—glorious news!"

Now that the last stronghold, as it was supposed, of the enemy had fallen, with its guns, ammunition, and stores, into the hands of its rightful owner, there did not at the time appear to be in hand any enterprise

of sufficient importance to demand the combined services of the different regiments constituting the Central India field force; and Sir Hugh Rose, worn out by fatigue and shattered health, through a long continuance of active service in hot weather, in which he had marched from one side of India to the other—had been five times engaged with the enemy, and had captured six strongly fortified towns—once more determined to seek that repose he so much needed, and which he had anticipated the enjoyment of, after the fall of Calpee. At the end of the month, the gallant veteran took leave of the army under his command, in the following general order—

"Head quarters Camp, Gwalior June 30th.

"The major-general commanding being on the point of resigning the command of the Poonah division of the Bombay army," on account of ill health bids farewell to the Central India field force and, at the same time, expresses the pleasure he feels that he commanded them when they gained one more laurel at Gwalior. The major-general witnessed with satisfaction, how the troops, and their gallant companions in arms the Rajpootana brigade, under General Smith, stormed height after height and gun after gun, under the fire of a numerous field and siege artillery, taking finally by assault two 18 pounders at Gwalior. Not a man in these forces enjoyed his natural strength or health; and an Indian sun, and months of marching and broken rest had told on the strongest, but the moment they were told to take Gwalior for their queen and country, they thought of nothing but victory. They gained it, restoring England's brave and true ally to his throne, putting to complete rout the rebel army; killing numbers of them, and taking from them in the field, exclusive of those in the fort, fifty two pieces of artillery, all their stores and ammunition and capturing the city and fort of Gwalior, reckoned the strongest in India. The major-general thanks sincerely Brigadier general Stuart C.B. and Brigadier Smith, commanding brigades in the field, for the very efficient and able assistance which they gave him, and to which he attributes the success of the day. He bids them and their brave soldiers once more, a kind farewell. He cannot do so under better aspects than those of the victory of Gwalior."

It was admitted by every one, that the repose so much desired by the major-general had been well earned by five consecutive months of marching, fighting, besieging, and conquering under an Indian sun. On the 12th of January, 1858, he had assumed command of the Central India field force at Schore. On the 23rd he captured the town of Ratghur; on the 28th he defeated the enemy in the field, and on the 30th, captured the fort of

\* The Central India field force was a branch of the Poonah division of the army of the presidency of Bombay

Rotghur. On the 7th of February he relieved Sugor, on the 9th, captured the fort of Gurra Kotah, and on the 3rd of March, forced the pass of Mundcapore, and, during the following week, captured a series of strongholds that gave him uninterrupted command of Bundelcund. On the 10th he captured and burnt Chnrkaree, and occupied Tal Beehut. The 1st of April he signalled by the defeat of the army of Tautia Topee, near Jhansie, and on the 3rd he followed up that victory by the capture of Jhansie itself, crowning the exploit, on the 7th, by storming the fort, and dispersing the rebel army. On the 7th of May he captured the fort of Koneh, and, on that day, threw fell from his horse from sun stroke. The 20th found him engaged in a severe contest near Calpee, which resulted in his driving the rebels into the fort, which, on the 23rd, he took possession of. On the 16th of June he again defeated the enemy near Gwalior, on the 18th and 19th, captured the town and fortress, and, on the 20th, restored Scindia to the throne. With the exception of Hoveclock, there was no general engaged in the war of the revolt, whose operations were so numerous, continuous and uniformly successful, as those of Sir Hugh Rose, who now retired to rest under the shade of those laurels he had so nobly gathered with his brave comrades beneath the scorching sun of India.

The following communication respecting the operations of the force under Sir Hugh, embraced a wider view of the circumstances by which they were attended, and were likely to be followed, than was afforded by the mere military reports published under the sanction of the government.

"Sir Hugh Rose, after the brilliant finale to his campaign, has gone down to Poona to seek rest till next cold season, when we may hope to have him once more at our head. A portion of the press has attributed his temporary retirement to his having been called to account by the home authorities, for the stern justice he meted out to the mutineers of the late Bhopal contingent, but such is entirely without foundation. Not only has Sir Hugh's conduct not been questioned, but you may be sure, when the Blue Book reveals the truth to the public, they will adjudge the praise due to him.

"Would that the Blue Books could also expose the Pandysism that thwarted him from bringing the instigators of the sad

murders at Indore, in July last, to the gallows. But no, it was not to be. The Holkar influence, always so paramount in Malwa, was now doubly exerted to save awkward revelations regarding the nobles of the court, if not against the hero himself.

"Every ensign in the C I F F (especially those of the 2nd brigade), knows that Sir Hugh, from the first, has taken an independent course of action, untrammelled by the spider meshes of Central India diplomacy, which Colonel Durant broke through for awhile, and there is no doubt that the fresh healthy ideas of Sir Hugh, himself an old diplomat, were thoroughly at discord, and have completely overcome the smooth but double tongued conventionalities which have been so long imposed upon the public by sycophants belauding them in the press. Such, however, are known, and valued aright by every politician in Malwa and Central India.

"The fall of Gwalior to the rebel army, and the recapture of it by us, has proved of the greatest use in quieting Central India. Gwalior, always a focus of discord, even from the first, when so many thought its master would turn against us, had latterly become a refuge for rebel fugitives, stirring up the feelings of malecontents who had not witnessed the invincibility of British power, and who were still deluded as to England's weakness. At last, the storm burst there and the thunder of English guns and hint of Eufield bullets, with the lightning movements of the general, cleared the atmosphere of all its impurities, and, excepting the loss of treasure to Scindia, has left his capital in a far better state than it has been for years.

"The middle and upper classes of natives in Central India, and even some of the lower, now say—'The Peishwa's friends possessed themselves of the first Mahratta capital in India, with a flourishing town, ample supplies, a strong fortress, an immense treasury, guns, stores, arms and munitions of war in abundance, as well as a fresh unbeaten army (Scindia's revolted troops) they had all the prestige attached to these enormous advantages, and yet they could not hold them three weeks. We have no faith in such leaders, by joining such, all is loss without gain. The fates are with the 'Sirkar Ungar.' It is useless to oppose the fates. We will henceforth go with the British, as their *akbat* is now re-established.'



"So you see it is no love for us, but merely self interest that binds the natives to us, and no one out of presidency atmosphere, who has lived with and among them, ever thought otherwise

"Mr Layard has tried to bolster up their cause, but we in India consider him to have made a miserable failure, and he is not only denounced by the anti native party, but overthrown and disclaimed by the native party themselves as no friend of theirs his misrepresentations are great, and the opinion is quite correct, that he came out to India with preconceived ideas, determined to prove them. We shall probably have a Pindarree warfare here after the rains, hunting up the small bands of marauders, who either fear to give themselves up, or have sufficient plunder to prevent them doing so. We should disarm every district directly after the rains, and this will tranquillise the country more than any other measure. The snake is ever poisonous so long as he retains his poison fangs"

By the time the recovery of Gwalior had been effected, that stage of the Indian year approached when the periodical rains would intervene to establish, as it were, an armistice, or rather an interval of compulsory inactivity, which afforded the adverse parties leisure to recruit their strength, and mature their plans of future operation. The unbroken chain of successes hitherto pursued by the British troops, was not yet likely to terminate in the complete pacification of the country. Tantia Topce and the nawab of Banda were still at large, beating up for adherents, and the whereabouts of the prime instigator to rebellion, Nana Sahib, was still unknown to the authorities, despite the enormous reward of £10,000, which had been offered for his capture, dead or alive, but which, hitherto, had produced no useful result. It should also be noticed that, while matters in the Upper Provinces certainly had acquired an improved appearance, the rebels, in detached parties were still occasioning considerable trouble in Lower Bengal. In Buxar cutting down the jungle had ceased for a time, as the rebels were reported to have left it, and Colonel Douglas, with his force, proceeded towards Benares, but he had scarcely advanced more than one march on the route, when he was recalled to Buxar, as the dispersed rebels took advantage of his absence and had reoccupied the jungle. About the same time, another

body of mutineers attacked Gya, and the European residents had to retreat into the intrenchments. After plundering the bazaar, they went to the grol, and released 150 prisoners. The Nujeebs, in whose charge they were, offered no resistance, and the rebels shortly after left the town without committing further depredation, in marked contrast to their conduct at other places, where they traced their progress by frightful atrocities, and by mutilating or slaying the natives in government employ.

The subjugation of Gwalior, and the re-statement of Rao Scandia in his paternal dominions, were facts in reality of much greater importance than at first sight was apparent. That the rebels, after being everywhere defeated and dispersed, would make for Gwalior as a point of concentration, might have been foreseen, and the maharajah evidently entertained such opinion when he repeatedly applied for aid to the governor general, even to the extent of only half a regiment, to enable him to hold out against such an anticipated attempt. Gwalior being the key to the Southern Mahratta country, if the city and fort had remained for any length of time in possession of the enemy, the flame of rebellion would have been kindled throughout the western presidency, where it was believed all the elements for an outbreak were ripe for action. Moreover, with Gwalior in the possession of the insurgents, Agra would have been in imminent danger, and no troops could be spared for a contingency that might or might not happen, while an actual necessity existed for their presence in a distant quarter.

The Central India field force was entirely broken up after the triumphant restoration of the maharajah. For a short time, the 95th regiment remained quartered in the rock fort, and two of the Queen's regiments of infantry, and one Bombay regiment, with detachments of cavalry and artillery, occupied the Morar cantonments. At Jhansie, the 3rd Bombay Europeans, and 24th Bombay native infantry, with some cavalry and artillery, were stationed. The Rajpootana brigade, which, under Brigadier Smith, had rendered good service in the siege of Gwalior, was distributed in three portions—one remaining at the latter place, the others occupying Sepree and Goonah. These troops positively needed a respite from the arduous duty they had so long

and so well performed; and to General Roberts, who held command of the disposable force in Rypootana, was entrusted the task of intercepting the flight or progress of any rebel force that might still be scattered over the country.

Such, however, was the general aspect of affairs at the end of June, that, even at Calcutta, it was believed the Indian rebellion was at an end, and that little remained to be accomplished beyond the suppression of brigandage, and the re-establishment of order. The insurrection had certainly lost its most alarming characteristics, and had dwindled from the dimensions of a great military revolt to the limit of mere local disorders. No longer did the *prestige* of an organised and active rebellion exist, and no leader of note was known to be abroad with any military force of importance. "Matters," said a telegram of the 25th of June, seem settling down in all parts of India." Of the popular chiefs, some had paid the penalty of their folly and crimes, like the princes of Delhi, some were slain in the field, like Koer Sing and the ranees of Jhansie, and others had fallen by the hands of their own countrymen, as the moules of Fyzabad. Of those who at this time survived and were at liberty, not one held the command of any important fortress, or city, or garrison. Feroze Shah, the agile hoaster, whose only claim to notice, beyond the marked cowardice he had exhibited, rested upon the fact that he was now the last of the Mogul princes to lift a sword against the British rule, dared not quit the hiding place he had found after his flight from Bareilly, while Nana Salub still continued to conceal himself so effectually that no one could even surmise where he might be found. Of all the notorieties among the rebel leaders, Tantia Topce was now the only one from whose determined hostility and military enterprise danger was likely to spring, and he was known to be a fugitive in the midst of a broken and discomfited army, without guns or material of war. With regard to the Nana, it certainly was a remarkable fact, that a man on whose head so magnificent a sum had been set, should have escaped capture to this time. Fourteen months had nearly elapsed since the perpetration of his atrocities at Cawnpore, and eleven since the recovery of Delhi had replaced the British government in its capacity of conqueror and master. For nearly a year, therefore, it had not only enjoyed

the renown of victory, but had had the command, more or less, of the territories in which the miscreant had lain concealed, and yet he had been ever successful in eluding pursuit or discovery. It was hardly certain that his route had once been correctly tracked, although his person was well known, and there were grounds for believing that he had been present at Lucknow, at Calpee, and at Bareilly. The circle was, however, now contracting around him and his confederates in crime, and sanguine anticipations were indulged, that the last asylum furnished by the wild and hut half-cultivated region in which he was now sheltered, would speedily be destroyed.

The presidency of Bengal, at the period of which we write, consisted of three main divisions of territory, which materially differed from each other in condition. One of these was formed by the country to the east of Oude, a second, by that to the west of the same province, and the third, by that hothed of rebellion, Oude itself. It could warrant no reflection on the progress of the British arms, that this central district—the home of the sepoy class of the revolted Bengal army—was yet unsubdued, for its landholders and cultivators still refused allegiance to the British government; many, or rather most, of its territorial chiefs had been, or were, in arms against the Company's rule, and the entire province was still in a state, if not of active insurrection, at least of latent anarchy. In Oude we held the capital with a European garrison superior to all the levies of the country, and could march out of Lucknow with a force sufficient to conquer and scatter abroad any assemblage of rebels that might venture to stand before it. To the east of Oude, in the old provinces of Bahar and Bengal, trifling disturbances occasionally demanded repression, but these were merely local, and did not exceed the usual magnitude of gang robbery and marauding. To the west of Oude, however, the spectacle was more satisfactory. The vast country comprising the districts of Rohilcud and Delhi, which had been the original seat of the rebellion, the scene of its first outbreak, and of its most desperate struggles, was now perfectly tranquil, well ordered, well organised, and well controlled. This division of territory had been attached to the government of the Punjab, held by Sir John Lawrence, and Delhi, under his prudent administration, had become as pacable as Lahore.

As regards the brigandage and freebooting, which at the end of June, formed the staple of Indian intelligence, it may be proper to observe, that the fact of its existence did not imply any new or dangerous element of political disorganisation. In India, robbery had for ages been systematised into a profession, just as piracy might have been on the shores of the Baltic ten centuries ago, when the sea kings of the north ruled the troubled waters. Whole tribes, for instance, are recorded as having inherited predatory dispositions and pursuits, to the exclusion of all other. Upon the establishment of British rule the government succeeded, to a considerable extent, in gradually suppressing the irregular practices it found inherent in the disposition of the people, though at one time the robbers, under the name of Pindarrees, were organised in such extraordinary numbers and strength, as to render necessary the operations of a regular war. The decisive measures of the government at length prevailed, and the vain struggles of the Pindarrees ended, at the close of 1817, by the solitary death of their last chief (Cheetoo)\* in the jungle of Asseerghur, whither he had sought refuge from a force under Sir John Malcolm. Since that period, the country they were accustomed to ravage had been comparatively quiet, but the suspension of regular authority that ensued upon the outbreak of the revolt of 1857, relieved the descendants of the marauding communities from all control, and they relapsed into their old habits as soon as the pressure which restrained them was withdrawn. Thus, it was considered that the minor and only disturbances which occurred about the end of June, 1858, were but a natural expression of Indian habit, rather than a feature of rebellion: the propensity had existed long before the insurrection and it had been controlled, and it was but natural that, as the government re-entered gradually into the full exercise of its functions, it would be controlled again.

As a specimen of the hopeful tone that pervaded the public mind in India at the period we refer to, the following extract

\* There is a touch of romance connected with the death of the robber-chief. "It is ten furlongs from place to place the daring freebooter bore up against in fortune with a son worthy a better cause; till he suddenly disappeared—none not even his son and few remaining followers knew how or where; for they had parted from him to hunt the forest for food. After some days, his horse was discovered grazing near the jungles of Asseerghur saddled and

from the *Bombay Telegraph*—a newspaper of extensive circulation and influence—will not be inaptly quoted here. The article, *in extenso*, is entitled "Present State of India," and it proceeds thus—"Wednesday, June 23rd, was the anniversary of the battle of Plassey, when Clive, with 1,000 Englishmen and 2,000 sepoy, defeated and dispersed the army of Bengal, numbering 40,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry, fifty pieces of the heaviest ordnance, and a number of French auxiliaries. On this day last year, the mutineers were in possession of Delhi, they had beset Lucknow, and besieged Cawnpore. A wail was heard throughout the land, and people asked each other, with pale lips what was to happen next. England, however, girded up her loins, and prepared herself for the struggle. She lost many men, but she did not lose her heart, and India is ours to-day—aye, more firmly and more enduringly than ever it was since its fetters were forged on the plains of Plassey. Delhi is ours, Lucknow is ours, Cawnpore is ours, Bareilly is ours, Jhansie is ours, Calpee is ours, Kotah is ours, and Gwalior is ours, there is in fact, not a stronghold in the country from the summit of which the British flag is not waving. The princes of the Mogul dynasty have been shot like dogs, and their carcasses exposed in the market place. Everywhere retribution has overtaken the murderers, and the remnants of the mutinous army are now the denizens of the jungle. The rebellious rajahs and chiefs have now neither house nor home. They have been blown from guns, hanged, transported, and imprisoned, and even the foot of the miscreant of Dithoor can scarcely find a resting place among his own kith and kindred. The king of Delhi is awaiting a felon's doom, and everywhere disaster, disgrace, and death have followed all who opposed us. Timid people still entertain alarm; but there is no longer any real grounds for apprehension. The anniversary of Plassey, in 1857, found us, in the midst of all our troubles and calamities, still the dominant race, and to-day, amid all our triumphs and vic-

trudged; and at a little distance lay a heap of torn and bloodstained garments, and a human head the remains of a brave feat. I was a full-grown man for the last of the 19th century—the last that deserved the names for these marauders, whose strength in the field, so late as 1817, often exceeded 30,000 men, now deprived of their leaders, and without a home or a rendezvous, have again become forest-dwelling. Montgomery Martin's *India*, p. 470.

stories, finds us a thousand times more so. We have, no doubt, a great work still before us, but the grand end has been attained—our supremacy in India has been made manifest. The *prestige* of our arms has everywhere been maintained, and even blaug and fanaticism have recoiled before the British bayonet. It is true that we have met with a few accidents, but these have been generally the result of the rash daring of thoughtless commanders, not the consequence of either a lack of courage or deficiency of endurance. We have beaten the rebels on their own battle grounds, we have driven them from the fortresses they had most strongly fortified, and we have met and muzzled them in the jungles like tigers in their dens. Altogether, we look upon to-day as one of the most auspicious anniversaries the English ever witnessed in India. Our legions are invincible, the ramparts of our power impregnable, and our position as the dominant race unassailable. Everywhere our arms are victorious, and instead of being afraid of battle, we court it. Our gaze is lying on the plains of Hindostan, but as yet we have found none to have the hardihood to pick it up. The rebel leaders would evidently rather hear the mouse squeak than the lark sing—hence their love for bole and corner fighting. Their end is, however, rapidly approaching, and the disappearance of 'something white' will, we imagine, be their own winding sheet."

In closing this chapter with a brief glance at the state of the insurgent leaders and of the country in Midsummer, 1858, it may be fitly observed that, considering at the like period, twelve months previous 150,000 well organised soldiers were in arms against British rule—that they had possession of the chief arsenal of the country, and that everything gave prospect of a protracted and perhaps chequered struggle, it was certainly surprising that opportunities so extensive should not have brought forward any one example of political or military ability in the ranks of the insurgents. Not in all that immense army did there exist a single native general, though India had ever been, and still was, the country of successful soldiers and flourishing adventurers, comprising desperadoes of all the most promising races in the world. Arabs, Affghans, Malays, and Persians—the free lances of Oriental service, the representatives of Eastern conquerors, swarmed by

thousands in the native courts and armies of the country, and yet not one soldier worthy of the name had stepped from the crowd. No Sivagee!—no Hyder Ali!—no Runjeet Sing had appeared on the scene. Koer Sing was said to have shown the nearest approach to military science in his movements, but the other rebel leaders had proved utterly worthless. The Khan Babadoor Khan, who had been raised to the chief command during the brief occupancy of Delhi by the rebels, had his brain turned by an overpowering sense of the responsibility imposed upon him, and it is scarcely possible to be accurate as to the individual leaders at Calpee, at Cawnpore, or at Gwahior, and other scenes of serious conflict. If any distinction was achieved at all, in a military sense, by the rebel chiefs, it was achieved by women rather than by men!—by the rance of Jhansie, and the begum of Oude! The native troops, whose treacherous revolt had carried fire and sword through the country, were virtually without a leader for any purpose of combined strategy. They certainly remembered the words of command, and the evolutions of a parade. They retained the impress of discipline and organisation so tenaciously, that regiments and brigades hung together until utterly broken up by defeat and dispersion. Thus they could go through all the forms of camp or garrison duty, but, in their campaigning there was no life—no master spirit to guide them. They never made a strategic movement!—never succeeded in an assault, and scarcely ever repelled one. As events showed, they could not even keep stone walls when attacked. Thus they held Delhi only until the heavy guns came up and effected a breach. Lucknow they abandoned after a faint struggle, and Gwahior they fled from without defending it at all. They had been beaten in masses wherever they dared stand before the armies of Retribution, and the survivors of the immense force were now dispersed over the country in comparatively insignificant bands, whose only means of annoyance consisted in carrying on a sort of guerilla warfare, until in the course of events the whole should be exterminated.

It has already been observed, that the glorious army which had to led so long and so successfully against the concentrated force of the great rebellion which had now expended its energies, and languished into

a mere series of local annoyances, was at length about to rest from its labours, and to take much needed shelter from the sun and the rains, while the veterans in its ranks might recruit their strength, and the young among them learn discipline in the season of forced repose that awaited them. There was, however, no respite for the commander in chief or for his staff, whose watchful care was required in every direction, in organising arrangements for the distribution and accommodation of the troops, as well as in precautionary measures for the repression of any attempts that the enemy might be induced to make against the various outlying stations and lines of communication during the rains, to say nothing of the labour necessarily devoted to the arrangement of plans for an ensuing campaign, should circumstances render it inevitable. We have already shown that much had been accomplished, still, much remained to be done before the sword could be sheathed. The state of Oude was still not satisfactory, its chiefs and population were yet hostile, and had rejected the offers of reconciliation and forgiveness. They had refused to accept either the terms offered by the governor general in his original proclamation,\* or the more liberal conditions the commissioner had been empowered to grant them, and were resolved to risk the chances of a guerilla war, and to try the effect of an armed opposition to the introduction of civil power into their territories, and the gage being thus thrown down, no course was left to the British government but to crush and politically exterminate those who had defied its power and scorned its mercy. Oude had not only now to be conquered, but to be occupied militarily—its forts to be laid in ruins—its chiefs brought to utter and acknowledged subjection—its population disarmed, and its social state entirely reconstituted. The task yet reserved for the army might be arduous and tedious,

\* See ante, p. 276

but it could now scarcely be called dangerous, for, from the enemy in the open field, there was no longer anything to dread, but in the multifarious operations in which the troops, split into numerous small columns, were likely to be engaged—each depending for success upon the judgment of its individual leader—there were certainly grounds for apprehension. There was not, at this time, in Central India, in the North-West Provinces, or in Bengal, any assemblage of the enemy which had the slightest pretension to be called an army. In one short campaign, Sir Colin Campbell had tranquillised the Doab, crushed the Gwalior contingent, taken Lucknow, overrun Oude for a time with movable columns, wrested Rohilkund from the rebels, and re-established the civil rule of the Company in many of its old sites of power, while his lieutenants had restored the prestige of the British name in Central India, had pacified large provinces, laid waste the strongholds and haunts of numerous hostile chieftains, and had broken up every band which met them in arms—seizing their guns, and dispersing them in helpless flight. Between the beginning of the mutiny in May, 1857, and the close of June, 1858, not less than 30,000 of the rebellious soldiers of the native army had been slain in the field, had died of their wounds, or had perished of diseases incident to the war. From 8,000 to 10,000 armed men, and refractory inhabitants of the towns and villages, had also perished in encounters with the troops, and of those shot, blown away from guns, or hanged, pursuant to the sentences of civil or military courts, the number had been frightfully great. The result of this wholesale weeding out had, however, established the fact, that the sepoy rebels had disappeared as organised bodies, and the principal enemies which our troops had thenceforth to contend with, were simply matchlockmen and irregular horse, without a single leader of note to command them.

## CHAPTER VIII

COMMENCEMENT OF THE RAINY SEASON. TEMPER OF THE PEOPLE. COMPARATIVE QUIET OF THE COUNTRY. MILITARY OPERATIONS. ATTACK ON AIRWEE. ATTEMPTED OUTBREAK AT ALLYPORE; STATE OF OLDE LUCKNOW AND ITS VICINITY. THE OLDE PRINCES AND JUNG DADAHOOR OF NEPAUL. SIR HOPE GRANT AT FIZABAD. THE PUNJAB PROJECTED REVOLT AT DERA ISMAEL KHAN AND MOOLTAN; AFFAIR AT DEHREE. THE DOAB AND ROHILCOUD. DELHI VISIT TO THE PALACE. THE DEWAN KHASS. THE EX-KING. THE PRINCE JUMMA BAKHT. EAST POLICY OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT. THE CITY AND ITS PROBABLE FUTURE. THE LUCKNOW VICTIMS. NAU SING, HIS CHIVALROUS CONDUCT, HIS SERVICES AND TREATMENT. DOUBTFUL MOVEMENTS EXPLAINED. STRENGTH OF THE REBELS IN OUDE, CONSEQUENCE IN THE FUTURE POLICY OF GOVERNMENT.

We are now about to enter upon a new phase in the history of this deplorable war of extermination, which henceforth, for a short period, might be looked upon rather as a succession of conflicts with wandering and disorganised bands of armed rebels, scattered over the country, than as engagements with regular armies in the tented field, or before the walls of beleaguered cities. The rainy season, which sets in about the latter end of June, and lasts until October, had commenced, and, in a great degree, necessitated a cessation from active operations by either party. There was, nevertheless, much yet to be done before the fires of rebellion could be effectually trampled out. In many districts even the periodical rains allowed of little cessation from the labour of the troops, and the correspondence from various parts of the Anglo-Indian provinces was indicative of anything rather than a prospect of speedy return to tranquillity.

A letter from Deesa, of the 1st July, indicated the general tone of feeling that had spread over the country, thus—“The villagers are very unkind in these districts, and I wish myself luck in Scinde. The night I entered Deesa I lost my road. It was raining hard, with lightning and thunder, and I went into a village near the town, and begged for a guide but could not get one. After some trouble, I found a man, who on the pretence of showing me the way, led me to a place, gave a whistle, and about eighty men came out with naked tulwars, and surrounded me. It was rather an awkward fix to be in, but I earned on my sheer bounce—threatened all sorts of things—had a strong detachment of military coming up in my rear, &c., &c., and at length got away with a guide.” In the Behar district, a party of rebels entered the

station of Arrah during the night of the 6th of July, and fired some bungalows. A squadron of cavalry was sent out to repulse them, but had to retire back to the station, followed by the rebels, who, however, in their turn, retired before the regular troops. A telegram of the 9th, from Patna reported as follows—“The 60th marched this afternoon for Arrah, but the rebels have already left the vicinity. Brigadier Douglas has been placed in military charge of the part of Behar extending from Dinapore to Ghazepore, and including the whole of the disturbed portions of the Behar and Shahabad districts. He is to exercise entire control over this territory till the rebels have been completely subdued, and all troops passing through, or stationed near those localities, are placed at his disposal. Strong forts are to be established at moderate distances in all directions. With all these means and appliances, it can hardly be doubted that Brigadier Douglas will be able to restore order to this part of the country.” Again, on the 11th, the commissioner of Patna says by a telegram—“Behar now appears to be entirely clear of rebels, and is perfectly quiet. This is the case also with Patna and Chuprah. There are still about 3,000 rebels in Shahabad, of whom 1,000 or 1,200 may be armed sepoys. They principally occupy the portion of the district around the Jugdespore jungle. We have considerable bodies of troops at Arrah and on the Trunk road. Brigadier Douglas is about to establish a chain of posts round the enemy's position. They have no guns, and have proved themselves a very contemptible foe, and their expulsion is merely retarded by the state of the weather and the wind.” On the 9th of July, the Etawah district, in the Doab, was menaced by a large band of Dacoits and armed rebels,

who, after a sharp skirmish with a police force under Lieutenant Graham and Mr. Macdonochie, were driven into the ravines with some loss. Among the bodies left on the ground was one which, from the bottles and packets of medicine found upon it, was evidently a native doctor. From Gwahor, a letter of the 17th of July says—"The troops are getting under cover as quickly as possible, the maharajah rendering every assistance; and there is no time to be lost, as the monsoon commenced on the 12th. The 95th have been ordered to Seprce, in consequence of disturbances expected thereabouts, and were to have marched this morning, but did not. Our general is very careful of the health of the troops, and won't have them exposed if he can help it; and in this all agree with him. Sir Robert Hamilton is still here arranging treaties. Scindia is in high spirits at having recovered his throne, and wanted to enuoc his gratitude to the troops by giving them six months' batta; but he was advised to give a star. We all wish his advisers had been in a region where there are no stars at all. We expect to return to Bombay immediately after the rains." In Rajpootana, the movements of the troops about this time are described in the following telegram:—"Allahabad, 9th July.—General Roberts was at Sanghear, south of Jeypore, on the 5th. The rebels, who left Lalsoont for Tongha on the 3rd, suddenly returned to the former place, and are now said to have moved for Dholepore. The Kotah rebels, who went to Gwahor, have come back, reduced in number, and in much disorder, and are now at Karier, near Madhopore, in the Jeypore territory. The rebel rajah of Shahagunge has given himself up to Mr. Thornton at Moororra. The rebels had moved south before General Roberts' force, and the latter was about to send detachments in pursuit ahead of his main force." Again, on the 12th of July, a telegram from Agra announced that, on the 9th, a body of rebels had taken possession of Tonk (a town about forty-eight miles south of Jeypore), and surrounded the Bhoonglur, in which the nawab resided. They had plundered the town, and obtained three brass guns, with which they assailed the Bhoonglur; but the nawab and his people remained faithful, and held out; and the following day, on hearing of the approach of Captain Holmes with a force for the relief of the nawab, they suddenly broke up their

camp, and fled without halting to Buneta, whither they were followed by the British troops; but the chase was fruitless, as the latter could never get within sight even of the native enemy; and the troops found, to their chagrin, that their harassing march across the country had in reality led to no useful result.

In Rohileund, it was apparent that, although the country was slowly returning to a dogged obedience, the feeling of the people was as hostile as ever. The Hindoos hated their Christian rulers, who had treated them with comparative kindness, even more than they did the Mussulmans—tyrants who, during their brief reign, had plundered and insulted them in every possible way. Upon the resumption of British authority, martial law had been removed from the province, and the Company's regulations restored in full force. But the change was not congenial to the habits or wishes of the people. They preferred to live under the military law of their native chiefs; and when Khan Bahadoor Khan, and his allies, held Rohileund, the populace showed their partiality for native customs, by witnessing the abolition of the civil courts with the utmost indifference. They were a simple people, and preferred to be ruled by the direct blow of the sword, rather than by the tortuous subtlety of the pen, and the sophistries of a code of laws to which their fathers were strangers. Perhaps they were right in their predilection for the more summary, if not the best, system of government.

The following communication from Central India, furnishes some details of an expedition, in which a force, under General Whitlock, was successful in an attack upon a fortified town belonging to Narayan Rao, of the family of the Peshwa. According to the writer (an officer of the force engaged), this affair was productive of important results, as no less than forty-one guns, 150 rounds of powder, 1,500 stand of arms, and two crores of rupees and jewels, fell into the hands of the victors. The letter, under date of July 17th, says—"The force marched from Banda, for Kirwee, in two brigades, one following the other; and the rabble army of Narayan Rao made preparations to obstruct our approach, by placing strong outposts on the different roads leading to Kirwee, but, as our imposing force gradually neared them, their courage rapidly oozed away. Various messengers met us

on the road, intimating that the heirs of the great Peshwa were coming to surrender, and daily were we expecting to see them; but, as day after day passed, and no one made his appearance, we began to think that the craftiness of the Mahratta was at work, and that their intimations of surrender were made merely with the hope of delaying our advance, and the hopes of many rose high, that we should yet have to fight our way into Kirwee. They were, however, doomed to disappointment, for no sooner had we arrived within two marches of Kirwee, than the rabble army began to disperse, and Radha Govind, the head man of Narrayun Rao, the scoundrel who had worked all the mischief, thinking discretion the better part of valour, with all his satellites, and the greater part of the rabble army, taking a large quantity of cash and jewels, bolted to a hill fort near Menikpoor, some twenty miles south of Kirwee. Fortunately, they were able to take no guns with them, and Narrayun Rao and Madho Rao, withdrawing the guns into the courtyard of their palace, prepared to surrender themselves to the British government, and to answer for their misdeeds of the past twelve months. On our reaching our encamping ground the next morning, within eight miles of Kirwee, a small band of horsemen appeared in the distance, escorting three palanquins. The troops were halted, and the cavalry skirmished to the front, and we awaited the approach of the enemy. Presently one man of the party preceded his companions, and, in a state of the greatest alarm, rushed up to the general, exclaiming in English, 'Sir, I am a faithful servant of the British government, Narrayun Rao and Madho Rao beg permission to throw themselves at your feet.' This turned out to be the agent of the British government, who, for some time past, with infinite peril to himself, had been residing at Kirwee, trying to persuade the Raos to surrender. His efforts, backed by the approach of the force, had now met with success. Permission was given to the penitent rebel chiefs to approach, and the general and the magistrate went to the front to meet them. Leaving their escort some distance off, Narrayun Rao and Madho Rao then approached on foot, and giving up their swords to the general, in token of submission, were immediately placed under a European guard of the 3rd Madras regiment, and escorted into camp. The

next day, the general, with a detachment of horse artillery, cavalry, and infantry, entered Kirwee, and the magistrate took possession of the town and palace, the main portion of the force encamping on the left bank of the river Pynsunee, opposite to the town of Kirwee.

"These gentlemen evidently did not expect a force to march to Kirwee in the hot winds of Bundelcund, and have, without a doubt, been taken by surprise, for we found their gun foundries and powder manufactories in full swing. They were casting guns and preparing ammunition up to within two days of our entering Kirwee, and the enlistment of men was still going on.

"We found in the palace upwards of forty pieces of cannon, 18, 12, 9, 6, and 3 pounders, an immense quantity of shot and powder, 2,000 stand of arms, complete, with their accoutrements and ball cartridge, besides no end of matchlocks and swords, and what is more fatal than anything to the Raos, we found in the palace a heap of sepoy's kits containing accoutrements of mutineers of several of our worst regiments, thereby clearly proving that these men had been entertained at Kirwee. Narrayun Rao and Madho Rao are confined in a room inside the palace, and guards have been placed over their immense wealth, valued at upwards of a crore of rupees. We also found here two guns with bullocks complete, six elephants and sixty four horses belonging to Nawab Ali Bahadar, which had been brought here after the fight at Banda, on the 19th of April. The Raos will be tried in a few days, and if convicted, their property should be presented to the troops as prize money, as although there has been no fight, still, the submission caused by the approach of the force is of incalculable importance and gain to us, and the troops have had a most harassing march in the height of the hot winds of Bundelcund, and have lost as many men from sun stroke as they would probably have lost in open fight.

"Yesterday, the main body of the force, including both brigades, moved over to the Kirwee side of the river, and are halted till further orders. Fortunately, but with some difficulty, cover has been found for all the sick, of whom we have a large proportion.

'Radha Govind, the scoundrel who bolted to the hills, has been marked down, and, I trust, in a day or two, we shall beat up his quarters. Our bloodless victory at Kirwee



is all the more fortunate since the temporary success of the rebels at Gwalior, for there is not a doubt that the Mahratta chiefs have been in close correspondence with the Calpee Tantia Topce, and had the Kervee rebels been allowed much more time, they would assuredly have acted in concert with the Mahratta faction in the western presidency. This district will soon settle down, for the people are very tired of their native rulers."

An occurrence, which excited much alarm, and called for energetic interference, took place towards the end of July at Allypore, under the following circumstances.—A few weeks previous to the events described, the officer in command of the station (Colonel Shuldham) directed that the men of the new levy, concentrated at that place, should be formed into messes, according to caste, and that each caste should choose its own cook. This arrangement did not suit the prejudices, or, probably, accord with the privileges assumed by these soldiers of caste, and with a forbearance scarcely justifiable under the circumstances of the time, the orders of the commanding officer were allowed to be disregarded with impunity. Some days after the promulgation of the order, a naik and a private of the corps strolled into the lines occupied by the Jat horse, and, while there, asked the men if they would like to "use" the same rations as a European soldier, stationing, at the same time, that they themselves were compelled to do so. Much conversation passed, and the naik exercised his persuasive powers to incite the horsemen to mutiny. Finding, however, that he could produce no decided impression upon his hearers, he withdrew from the lines before they had made up their minds whether to send him back to the fort or prisoner or not. The Jats, however, reported the circumstance to their commanding officer, Lieutenant Murray, who set on foot an investigation, but as nothing was elicited which could serve to criminate any particular individual, he paraded his men, and reproved them in somewhat indignant terms for making a false report to him. The men reiterated their statements, and offered to point out the naik and his companion if a parade were formed to enable them to do so. On the following day the men of the new levy were paraded accordingly, and the guilty parties were identified, the offenders were heavily ironed upon the spot, and placed under a strong guard of the

6th regiment. A court-martial was then assembled, before which they were brought for trial. The charge against the private was first disposed of, and, being established, the offender was sentenced to a few dozen lashes, and discharged with ignominy, but the naik, whose guilt was of a more positive quality, being clearly convicted of an attempt to incite to mutiny, was sentenced to death by the hangman. A letter from Allypore, of the 25th of July, gave the following account of the execution.—

"On the evening of the 23rd, our detachment (6th), the artillery (the European and Goluanduz), and the new levy, were drawn up under arms on the square, close by the lines of the last-named corps, opposite to which the gallows was erected, and with loaded muskets, and guns charged with grape to the muzzles, prepared to carry out the sentence. The arms of the men of the new levy were not loaded, and could not have done much mischief if they had been, as only about eighty of the men carried arms. The prisoner was brought out, and the proceedings of the court martial were read to the troops in the language they could understand. As soon as his fate was announced, the man coolly ascended the scaffold, and only uttering the words 'good bye, comrades,' stood calmly awaiting his doom. The order was given, and the drop fell, but what afterwards took place between the soul and its Creator, the day of general judgment can alone be able to reveal. He deserved his fate, but he met it like a soldier and a man. Was it a feeling of patriotism that sustained him, or what?" Several other men who became implicated during the proceedings before the court, were flogged, and the affair died away.

The state of Oude at this time, afforded ample employment for abilities of the highest order, both civil and military. The capital itself was tranquil, but, with the exception of some lines of communication still open, the country was wholly in the hands of the rebels.

At Lucknow, the great military works designed by Colonel Napier, of the Bengal engineers, were rapidly progressing under the superintendence of Major Crommelin, chief engineer of Oude. The nature and extent of these defences were well described in the following letter from Lucknow, of the 28th of June, and might be readily traced by referring to a plan of the city. The names of the various posts vividly recall to

memory the desperate struggles of the imprisoned garrison, of the relieving forces, and of the final all conquering army —

"The city of Lucknow, from its vast extent, and from the absence of any very prominent features of the ground on which it stands, must always remain difficult to control except by a large body of troops. That difficulty may be greatly diminished by establishing a sufficient number of military posts, by clearing such spaces round the posts on their lines of communication with the open country, as will render them at all times accessible by opening broad streets through the city, and practicable roads through and round the suburbs, so that troops may move rapidly in any direction. The city is situated on an incline, descending towards the Goomtee, the sides of the residency and of the old fort, called the Muchee Bowun, are more elevated than the other parts surrounding them, and are spurs from the high edge of the incline which stretches round the south side of the city. The drainage between them falls into the Goomtee near the iron bridge. The height of the buildings is so great, compared with the natural features of the ground, that the latter are only discernible on close examination. The point which gives the nearest approach to a command over the city, is the old fort, or Muchee Bowun, in close proximity to which is the great Imaumbarra, which affords most excellent shelter for troops. It is here our principal post will be maintained, for it commands completely the stone bridge, and greatly influences the communication with the iron bridge. Our second post is at the iron bridge, and the third will be built on the site of the late residency. These are to be connected by outposts at Allee Meekie Khan's house and the Moosabagh, to connect the Muchee Bowun and iron bridge by strong pickets. The Jumna Bagh appears to offer an military position, though the shelter of a few buildings there is convenient for the present, but it will be found expedient to clear away the whole of them, leaving merely the highly ornamental gate ways, and laying out the ground surrounding the great masonry tank in walks and gardens for the use of the garrison in the Muchee Bowun, avoiding to construct or leave any cover that would be injurious to it. All suburbs and cover lying on the banks of the river, which would intercept

the free march of troops from the Muchee Bowun to the Moosabagh, is now being swept away. The second post, as already mentioned, has been formed at the iron bridge, which is connected with the Muchee Bowun by strong pickets—a little labour converting an existing hollow into a covered way for a considerable part of the distance. The post at the residency, which is not yet completed, will maintain the communication between the bridges and the Kaiserbagh. An esplanade round the Muchee Bowun is now being cleared 500 yards all round it, and the following roads are being constructed, radiating from it through the city —

"No 1 To the Chaibagh bridge 2 To the Tal ka Tora bridge 3 To the Moosabagh, to join the road to Sundeelah 4 Iron bridge runs into No 1 5 Stone bridge to cantonment at Murraon 6 The old cantonment road from the iron bridge 7 From the Chaibagh to the Tal ka Tora, thence in Boulee Hussain to the Moosabagh.

"These will form the grand military lines of road, perfecting the communication to, from, through, and with our system of fortified posts.

"The palaces of Ferrud Bux, the Chutter Munzil, and the Kaiserbagh, together with the range of palaces stretching from the Kaiserbagh to Banks' house, now form the barracks for our troops. The part of the city lying immediately south of them, and almost in ruins, will be cleared away. Every building and garden enclosure not required for the use of our troops, which exists between the Martiniere road and the Goomtee, will also be cleared away. All bridges over the canal, destroyed and damaged by the enemy, are being rebuilt and repaired.

"The following, already made or in course of construction will form our civil lines of roads all communicating directly or indirectly with the military —

"No 1 From the Kaiserbagh to the Chaibagh 2 Ditto, to the Tal ka Tora 3 Ditto, to Seetapore bridge 4 From a point south of the Kaiserbagh to Sufrazunge and Sundeelah 5 From Civil Bury along to the Seetapore bridge 6 From the Muchee Bowun in the rear of the residency, to the Kaiserbagh, continued to Banks' house. This last to form the boundary between the civil and military lines.

"The Martiniere and Dilkosha are also

used as outposts on the east side. Thus our troops will occupy cantonments altogether seven miles in extent, from the entrance outposts from east to west, in the centre of which are the three permanent fortified posts, which will require a garrison aggregating 1,000 men, and will hold the roads between the city and the north bank of the Goomtee. The position of the troops is one entirely forced by circumstances—the greatest of all forces, I may remark by the way—by the necessity of holding the line which controls the city, and its communications with the north bank of the Goomtee and northern districts of Oude; otherwise it would be a large garrison we should have to maintain, to be entirely independent of the movable columns."

The country districts were, as we have observed, in no sense subdued, and yet neither could they be said to be held by the rebels in force. There were, in fact, at this time, three great parties in the country, two antagonistic, and the third utterly in different to their rivalry. The rebels, in considerable numbers, were banded together under their leaders, in a dozen places, but all at a distance from the capital. The cultivators pursued their ordinary occupation, and, wherever sufficiently strong, resisted by force the exactions of the rebel chiefs, their system being to pay the regular revenue to the party that first came for it, and to resist any demand for it from other quarters, while so deadly was the hostile feeling with which the European authorities were regarded throughout the province, that even the popularity of Maun Sing did not save him from an attack, in requital for the very slight assistance he had rendered to the Ghoorkas on their return from the British territory. Rumour had, towards the end of June, ascribed the existence of a more hopeful feeling on the part of the begum and her followers at Bundee, in consequence of an understanding alleged to exist between herself and the Jung Bahadour of Nepal. Throughout the city it was confidently asserted, that the begum had applied for assistance to the Nepaulesse chief, and that the aid she required had been promised, and would certainly be forthcoming, and that, strengthened by this new and powerful auxiliary, the ex queen would make one last and desperate struggle to recover her kingdom. So much only of this rumour was true as related to the fact of applications being

made from the late moulvie of Tyzabad and from Birjiz Kudr, the prince of Oude, then with the begum. By these individuals letters had certainly been addressed to the Jung, urging him to desert the infidels, and to range himself on the side of those who had risen against their oppression; and the following are translations of the correspondence which passed upon the occasion—

*Translation of a Letter from Moulvie Mahomed Surfray Alee, the Ambassador of the King of Oude, to the Maharajah Jung Bahadour (without date), received 6th June, 1858*

"After compliments—Friendship has subsisted for a very long period between the kingdom of Oude and that of Nepal, and nothing has been done on our part to interrupt it. It is therefore astonishing you have sided with the impure infidels who are tyrants and enemies of the religion both of Hindoos and Mohammedans, and have fought against the army of the faithful. The chiefs of every tribe should fight for their religion as long as they live. These execrated people have become the destroyers of the Hindoo and Mohammedan religion, and your friendship for them is unbecoming the dignity of princes and kings. There is a proverb, that 'When infidelity springs from Mecca, where can Islamism exist? If you in person are prepared to destroy religion, how can it stand? I hope that, having allowed the eyes of justice and kindness to rest on both creeds, you will make your arrangements so that these enemies of the faith may abandon their present purpose, and meet with punishment, and that for thousands of Hindoos and Mohammedans whom they have slain without cause, you will leave nothing undone in the way of retaliation. By this means you will, in the first place, obtain renown in this world and in the next, secondly, you will give satisfaction to our government, and it will be the means of increasing friendship. From your kindness I am in hopes you will favour me with an answer to this letter, with your seal attached, that I may be enabled to report it to the king. For the express purpose of communicating with you I have been appointed ambassador and am now in Toolseepore. I enclose a copy of my credentials (sunna) in return for your friendship and good wishes it will be easy for the king to reward you. I have had an interview with Dummah Khan, and have told him all that is necessary; no doubt he will write and inform you. Moulvie Ahmed Oola Shah, a very celebrated and brave man, is in the neighbourhood of Lucknow, and is ready to fight with and destroy the infidels (Kafirs). I am one of his confidential servants, and have been deputed by him to negotiate with you. Neither I nor the servants of our government are acquainted with your titles, or those of your authorities, so we cannot address you properly. I am in hopes that you will send me word how we should address you, and pray forgive any mistakes or omissions in this letter. I hope for the future you will look upon me as your sincere friend, and will not forget me. Seven Persian letters accompany this, addressed by Mahomed Khan Bahadour viceroy of Oude, to different Nepal authorities—among them one for yourself; and two Hindoo letters under the seal of the king of Oude—one for the king of Nepal, the other for yourself—

will reach you. I am in hopes you will favour me with a reply, and that you will pay such kind attention to the condition of the Hindoos and Mohammedans that their religion may be preserved, and the infidels destroyed."

*Abstract Translation of a Letter from Ramzan Alee Khan Mirza Buryz Kadr Bahadoor, to His Highness the Maharajah of Nepaul, dated the 7th of Jeth Sumvat, 1915, corresponding with 19th May, 1858*

"After compliments—It is known to every one that my ancestors brought the British into Hindostan; but Bulvunt Sing, the rajah of Benares, was a cause of much annoyance to them, and therefore the province of Benares was given to them. A treaty was then signed by the British, in which they wrote that they would never act treacherously as long as the sun and moon should exist. But they have broken that treaty, and, dethroning my father, Wajid Ali Shah, have sequestered his state, palaces, and everything he had. Every one is acquainted with this event, as it took place only in Samvat, 1912

"After taking Lucknow they intended to make war with you, for which purpose they collected a large force and magazine at Colonelgunge, which is situate below the hills, perhaps you are aware of this event

"In former years great intimacy existed between our houses, inasmuch that your forefathers built a hurgalow for my ancestors for shooting and hunting purposes in Bhootwal

"The British, some time ago, attempted to interfere with the faith of both the Hindoos and Mohammedans, by preparing cartridges with cow's grease for the Hindoos and that of pigs for the Mohammedans, and ordering them to bite them with their teeth. The sepoys refused, and were ordered by the British to be blown away from guns on the parade ground. This is the cause of the war breaking out, and probably you are acquainted with it.

"But I am ignorant as to how they managed to get your troops, which they brought here, and began to commit every sort of violence, and to pull down temples, mosques, imambarras, and the sacred places

"You are well aware of the treachery of the British, and it is proper you should preserve the standard of religion, and make the tree of friendship between you and me fresh.

"Therefore it is proper we should join in killing the British, which is the only way to save the religion of both the Hindoos and Mohammedans

"I have written briefly but you can comprehend it largely. It is right that you should send me a reply quickly."

*Translation of a Letter from Buryz Kadr to His Excellency Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, of 11th May, 1858*

"After ascer (blessing)—I am well convinced that you pay great attention to religion and faith, and that it is very likely you have been informed that temples and imambarras have been broken down

"You are also aware that the British do not care either for the religion or life of the Hindoos or Mohammedans, and their cunningness and treachery, as well as their forgetfulness of favours, is not unknown to you

"You are also aware that my forefathers showed

favour to the British, such as no one else would do; and they have, without any offence on my part, deprived me of everything

"Let bygones be bygones. I now write to you that it is proper for us to band together in the cause of religion, and act with reflection.

"To you both parties are the same, what shall I write more? My brief writing comprehends a great deal.

"Let me inform you that the moulvie, Sahib, is proceeding towards you on my part."

*Translation of a Letter from Alee Mahomed Khan, Viceroy of Lucknow, to his Excellency Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, dated May 19th.*

"After compliments—Great intimacy existing between the two governments, it is unnecessary for the members of either to attempt to increase it. Therefore I, Alee Mahomed Khan Bahadoor, a viceroy of the state, remind you of it, and disclose my object in this friendly letter—informing you, that a friendly letter has been addressed by this state to his highness the maharajah of Nepaul, the purport of which will be known

"As the strengthening of the old friendship existing between the two states depends on the managers of both governments, who are bound in duty to do so (and the sagacious and clever men of past ages have excelled in such matters) and especially at this period, when the British nation is bent on depriving the inhabitants of this country of their religion, faith, dominions, and lives, and as no hope is left to any prince by this cursed nation, therefore, on the strength of our old friendship, and considering the vicinity of our frontier, I am led to believe that it would not be wise in any chief to allow those enemies who are in their grasp, to escape

"Therefore it is proper for, and binding on chiefs, to enter into agreements to kill and get rid of these infidels

"It is hoped you will keep the object of this proposed matter in view, and renew the rites of friend ship

"Believing me anxious to hear of your health, I hope you will always favour me with your correspondence

"May the days of prosperity befriend friends"

*Translation of a Letter from his Excellency Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, to Buryz Kadr Bahadoor, of Lucknow*

"Your letter of the 7th Jeth Soode (Wednesday, corresponding to the 19th of May 1858) to the address of his highness the maharajah of Nepaul and that of 13th Jeth Vudee of the present year (Tuesday), corresponding to the 11th of May, 1858), to my address have reached their respective destinations, and their contents are fully understood. It is written that the British are bent on the destruction of the society, religion, and faith of both Hindoos and Mohammedans

"Be it known that, for upwards of a century, the British have reigned in Hindostan; but up to the present moment, neither the Hindoos nor the Mohammedans have ever complained that their religion has been interfered with

"As the Hindoos and Mohammedans have been guilty of ingratitude and perfidy, neither the Nepaul government nor I can side with them

"Since the star of faith and integrity, sincerity in words as well as in acts, and the wisdom and com

prehension of the British, are shining as bright as the sun in every quarter of the globe, be assured that my government will never disunite itself from the friendship of the exalted British government, or be instigated to join with any monarch against it, so he as high as heaven. What grounds can we have for connecting ourselves with the Hindoos and Mohammedans of Hindostan?

"Be it also known, that had I in any way been inclined to cultivate the friendship and intimacy of the Hindoo and Mohammedan tribes, should I have massed 5,000 or 6,000 of them in my way to Lucknow?

"Now, as you have sent me a friendly letter, let me persuade you, that if any person, Hindoo or Mohammedan, who has not murdered a British lady or child, goes immediately to Mr. Montgomery, the chief commissioner of Lucknow, and surrenders his arms and makes submission, he will be permitted to retain his honour, and his crimes will be pardoned.

"If you still be inclined to make war on the British no rajah or king in the world will give you an asylum, and death will be the end of it.

"I have written whatever has come into my plain mind, and it will be proper and better for you to act in accordance with what I have said."

From the above correspondence, it is evident that, whatever doubts might have existed of the good faith of the Nepoulese chief after his retirement from Lucknow, he had acted with perfect loyalty to his engagement with the Anglo Indian government, and was entitled to its confidence.

On the 21st of July, a force, under Sir Hope Grant, marched from Lucknow to take possession of Fyzabad—reheving Maun Sing, who was shut up in his fort at Shahgunge, on their way. At this time, the territorial possessions of the British in Oude, exclusive of the capital itself, were limited to the military road between Cawnpore and Lucknow, the route on to Nuhahgunge beyond that city, and a strip of country a few miles broad, along the north of that line of route. It was expected that General Grant's advance on Fyzabad would probably result in the command of that road also, and that nothing more would be done until the cold weather enabled the troops to enter upon another campaign. On the part of the rebels, it was now reported that the begum, since her repulse by Jung Bahadoor, was no longer able to keep together the force she had endeavoured to organise at Boonder, under Tantia Topce—the men deserting in large numbers, and leaving their arms behind them. The rebel treasury being nearly exhausted, it was also currently reported that extreme pressure for means to satisfy his followers, had compelled Nana Sahib to part with a ruby of immense value, to a

native banker, for 10,000 rupees. Meanwhile, the right to participate in the treasures of the late moulvie of Fyzabad, had opened a field of dispute between the rebel leaders, the begum having dispatched Khan Ali Khen with some troops, to bring the rich booty to her for disposal—an arrangement that did not coincide with the views of Khan Bahadoor Ismael Khan and Feroze Shah, who, being in possession of it, considered they had the best right to share it among themselves, and were disposed to fight for it if necessary.

Some time towards the end of June, an effort was made to estimate the number of talookdars, and other petty chieftains, who were yet in arms against British rule in the province of Oude together with the amount of force at their disposal. The list that appeared to offer the nearest attainable approach to accuracy, gave the names of about thirty five talookdars, rajahs, and chuckedars, holding among them about twenty-five mud foits, of various capacity and strength, with nearly a hundred gues, and altogether mustering about 40,000 armed retainers, distributed over the country, but the greater part of them in the district around Roy Bareilly, south east of the capital. Notwithstanding these formidable chieftains, and their men at arms, the cause of regular government in Oude gradually advanced. The rebels, vast as their numbers were in the aggregate, being split into sections, could not seriously retard the complete pacification of the country, and Mr. Montgomery at Lucknow, entrusted, as we have seen, with large discretionary powers by the governor general, was slowly but surely feeling his way to that desirable end. The immediate defences of the city had been entrusted to the superintendence of Major Crommehn, and while Sir Hope Grant was rushing from point to point, and trampling down rebellion in the open field, the chief commissioner was assiduously employed in re-establishing the network of judicial and fiscal organisation, as opportunity arose at the heel of the conquerors. One of the greatest obstacles to the immediate success of his policy, arose from the fact, that the rebel leaders made instant and unrelenting war against such of their countrymen as gave in their submission to the government, and thereby deterred the more timid from seeking its forgiveness.

The Punjab at this time was not wholly free from the taint of disaffection, and, on

the 20th of July, it was accidentally discovered that a portion of the 18th regiment of Punjab infantry, stationed at Dera Ismael Khan, had been told-off for the murder of all the officers, after which the fort was to have been seized, and the 39th regiment, which had some time previously been disarmed, was to have been re-equipped from the magazine and stores. Taking with them the guns and treasure, the mutineers were then to embark in boats for Dera Ghazee Khan, on the Indus, where they expected the troops there stationed would join them. With this accession of force they were then to cross the Indus, hasten to Mooltan, and, with the two regiments there, march upon and take possession of Lahore: the 6th police battalion and the Punjab battery were in the plot; and the conspirators reckoned upon being joined by the other troops in garrison, as soon as the revolt should break out. Provisionally, on the evening of the 19th of July, information was by some means or other conveyed to Captain Gardiner, commanding the 10th Punjab infantry, and Captain Smith, of the artillery, that an outbreak was likely to occur that night. The intelligence was at once reported to Colonel Macdonald, in command of the station; who desired all commanding officers to repair to their respective lines, to watch events, and act as their judgment should dictate. Captain Gardiner, on reaching his quarter-guard, called for a sepoy and jemadar, who had been named by his informant. The sepoy came, and on hearing the words *kynd kur* ("secure him"), turned and fled, pursued by a native officer of the guard and some sepoys. When near the lines, the jemadar implicated rushed forward to his rescue, and wounded the subahdar and one of the sepoys, and then fled with the man he had thus aided to escape. A court of inquiry was immediately summoned; and the 39th native infantry were, by order of Sir John Lawrence, dispatched to Scalkote, whither they marched very quietly, after giving up their side-arms. Three native officers, five non-commissioned officers, and a number of sepoys, were placed under arrest; and, happily, the meditated mischief was strangled a few moments before its development. In connection with this abortive attempt to revolt, another of more serious result occurred on the 31st of August, at Mooltan, where the 62nd and 69th native infantry, with a troop of native horse artillery, broke into

mutiny, and tried to seize the guns and arms of the royal artillery and fusiliers. In the attack four gunners were killed, and three wounded; Lieutenant Mules, the adjutant of the fusiliers, being also killed. The outbreak of the mutiny was marked by singular daring, as the men had no other weapons than side-pieces of wood taken from their charpoys; and with these they charged in wings of regiments. The 62nd went to the artillery stables, and part of the fusilier barracks; the 69th at the guns, the artillery barracks, and a part of the fusilier barracks. When charging, the 62nd advanced close up to the irregular cavalry, evidently expecting them to join in the outbreak; but the latter, on the contrary, charged upon and cut them down without mercy, following them as they fled, and, with the 11th Punjab infantry, inflicting terrible punishment upon the fugitives. The strength of the two regiments immediately before the outbreak, numbered 1,431 rank and file, who were thus accounted for on the 3rd of September, but three days after that event—Killed in the mutiny, 300, tried and executed, 70; in prison, 500, killed by villagers, 50, and 125 did not join the disturbance making a total of 1,045. 185 were afterwards captured at Srojabad, and about 100 others at a thannah on the Lahore road; thus leaving but 100 men, out of nearly 1,500, unaccounted for. Upon investigating the circumstances connected with this affair, it transpired that an order for the gradual disbandment of the two corps had been read to the men on parade, and was heard by them with apparent satisfaction, but that shortly after, a report was circulated, to the effect that government had chosen the plan of sending them to their homes in drafts of twenty at a time, with the object of getting the men dispatched in small parties, and cutting them up on their way to Lahore. A great effect was immediately produced on the sepoys by this rumour; and on the morning of the outbreak, when the process of disbanding was to have commenced, they not only refused to quit the station, but resolved to attack the Europeans, and supply themselves with arms for their protection—the signal for action being the firing of the mid-day gun. The project was, as we have seen, timely frustrated; but the alarm occasioned to the European residents at the fort was intense. The inquiry also elicited the fact, that a plot to kill all the officers,

including some of the native, had been in agitation for some months previously amongst a knot of Malwaie Sikhs, about 100 in number, who assumed that, if the officers were destroyed, the whole of the men would join in the movement without hesitation.

Some further details of this terribly avenged attempt at revolt, are furnished by the following extract from a letter dated September 23rd—"You may not have heard all the details of the destruction of the mutinous regiments at Mooltan. Two regiments there stationed—the 62nd and 69th—were among the first disarmed in the Punjab. The 69th was known to be rotten to the core, but the 62nd has till within these last few weeks, committed no act calculated to excite suspicion. Accordingly it was resolved to rearm the regiment while discharging the 69th. The order was accordingly sent out to the men, and received in ominous silence. According to the only probable account yet received, the sepoy took the order to be an indication of kindness so inconceivable that it must coincide with some treachery. They imagined, it is said, that they were to be destroyed, and that the order to discharge them in detail was intended to facilitate that process. To prevent the execution of the plan they determined to escape. Escape without horses was, however, nearly impossible, and the only horses obtainable were those belonging to the European artillery. The artillery stables, therefore, were the point of attack, and the two regiments, joined by the native artillerymen (disarmed), marched by wings on the European artillerymen. They had no muskets, and but few swords, but the mass had extemporised formidable clubs out of the side posts of their bedsteads. A few reached the stables, where they killed four Europeans, but were speedily driven out by a gallant young fellow, a lieutenant who flung himself among them sword in hand. The remainder were beaten back by the artillerymen, according to the printed accounts, with their side arms. This, however, I am informed is a mistake. An officer, Captain Green, I think, had received information of the movement, and got out his guns so rapidly as to be able to pour fire into the mutineers at fifty yards. At all events, 300 were killed on the spot and the remainder, about 1,100, broke and fled. The Bombay fusiliers came up a few minutes afterwards, and their adjutant, Lieutenant Miles, who

was riding in advance, was seized by a few sepoy, torn from his horse, and brained on the spot. The sepoy then divided, part flying towards the Sutlej—the boats upon which river had, however, been seized—and part towards Lahore. The former party again divided, one portion making for an island in the Gheera, and another for the Chenab. They were all arrested or slain. The second division was pursued by a native gentleman, Gholam Mustafa Khan, aided by his tenantry and the police. The sepoy fought desperately, and compelled a retreat, but Mustafa Khan advanced again, and every sepoy was killed. By this time the country was up. Punjab officials know how to ride, the country folk hate the Hindostanee soldiery with a most healthy hatred, and by the 15th instant, the entire force, both the regiments and the artillery, had been 'accounted for.' All who had not been shot, or drowned, or hanged, had been taken prisoners. The intelligence made the sepoy at Meera Meer 'restless,' but the watch kept there is most vigilant, and, though there are rumours of a rising, they are not authenticated. The catastrophe will put a stop to the rearming mania, which for a few days threatened to place some 15,000 traitors under arms in the northern stations. The truth, that the fighting classes to a man detest the British, and that those who remained faithful only wanted their opportunity, begins at last to be admitted. The 69th native infantry, one of the 'best dispositioned' of the disarmed, is now on its march from Peshawar to Umballah, and Sir J. Lawrence has, I perceive, ordered all the police en route to keep their arms in readiness for action. The discharges are proceeding rapidly, forty men a day crossing the frontier under the surveillance of the police. Beyond that point they subside into the population, and, if they join the mamuders can do little harm. Four or five thousand, more or less, of them do not make the difference of a European regiment."

One of the most spirited affairs in which the troops were engaged at the commencement of the guerilla-like system of warfare, occurred near Dehra on the 17th of July. Captain Rattray, in command of a Sikh regiment at that station, being desirous to secure the person of Simran Singh a rebel of some notoriety, on account of the murders and outrages in which he had been concerned, selected a part of his men, whom

he disguised as mutinous sepoys, and sent into the place occupied by the rebel chief and his adherents. The Sikhs more than followed their instructions, for, by well sustaining the characters they had assumed, they gradually worked themselves into the confidence of the whole band, and then, at a convenient opportunity, made an onslaught upon the chief and his family, taking the first prisoner, and murdering his brother, sons, nephews, and grandsons—in all, nine persons—whose heads they brought with them to the tent of their commander.

Looking from hence towards the Doab and Rohilcund, it became at once apparent that organisation and systematic government had already made great advances. The Doab no longer contained any large body of armed rebels: there were numerous small bands in motion, but those chiefly made use of the Doab as a route of passage. The hopes, such as they were, of the rebel leaders, were now directed mainly towards two regions—Oude, on the north of the Ganges, and Central India, on the south of the Jumna. According as the chances of war fluctuated in one direction or other, so did groups of armed rebels cross, or attempt to cross, those rivers by means of the ghats or ferries. If the prospect of success appeared brighter in the direction of Lucknow or Fyzabad, Bareilly or Shahjehanpore, the current tended northward, if Calpee or Jhansi offered more favourable chances, the stream flowed in an opposite direction, but the Doab, in either case, was regarded rather as a line of transit than as a field of contest. The commander in chief, who was well acquainted with this fact, devoted a portion of his attention to the ghats on the two great rivers, since it became very important to check, if possible, the marching and counter marching of the armed handitti across the Doab, and, for that purpose, a considerable portion of the available troops were employed in this special service.

It has been observed, that the commander in chief, after participating in the reconquest and pacification of Rohilcund, had returned to his old quarters at Futtoghur, where he remained until the middle of June, but, though not individually engaged in hostilities, he was actively occupied either in devising means to find shelter and repose to his heat worn soldiers, or in arranging plans for the most advantageous employment of those whose services in the field were still indispensable. For some time

past the governor general had been holding his court at Allahabad, where he much desired the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell, that he might confer with him personally on the military arrangements for the ensuing season, but, owing to the scattered position of the British troops, there were no soldiers that could be spared from duty to escort the chief from Futtoghur to the temporary seat of government, and his attendance upon the governor general had necessarily to be delayed until a sufficient force came in from the outlying station to form an escort, without which he could not move, since, quiet as the Doab was, compared with its condition earlier in the year, there were still rebel bands occasionally traversing it, and those bands would have risked much for the chance of capturing a prize so important as the commander in chief of the English army. During this interval of comparative repose, much interest will be added to these pages by referring to the graphic details of a visit to Delhi, by Mr Russell, the special correspondent of the *Times* newspaper, who being unable to follow the field force, through an accident which restrained him from violent exertion, determined to seek the restoration of his health among the hills visiting on his way the late city of the Moguls, instead of going down in the train of the commander in chief to Allahabad, "the city of God." Under the searching eye and descriptive pen of this facile writer, Delhi and its accessories, its palaces and its ruins, stand out before us as if a masterpiece of the painter's art was unveiled to view. We shall commence the extracts with the arrival of the traveller at the Jumna, which is represented as rather low at the season, and spread into several channels over a wide expanse of sand, which it had formed into distinct islands. Over this river the passage was by a bridge of boats, protected at each end by a European sentry, who suffered no native to pass without an authority to do so. "The bridge leads to the Calcutta gate of the city, but, before one reaches it, the grand feudal looking keep of Selimgur rises on the left, out of the waters of the river by which it is surrounded. This fort, built of solid stone work, with massive walls and deep set small windows, still retains an appearance of real strength and is only accessible by a very lofty bridge thrown on high arches from the city wall, across the branch of the river that insulates the castle,



and it was then occupied by a detachment of English troops. At this point the wall of Delhi sweeps round by the curve of the river, and in front of us is the Calcutta gate. The masonry here dates from the time of Shah Jehan, the Great Mogul, to whom Delhi owes its grandest monuments and works. It bears marks of time here and there, but very little outlay and labour would renovate the fine face, which rises to the height of thirty five or forty feet, pierced with loopholes, and castellated at intervals for its defenders. Passing by the drawbridge, and through the Calcutta gate, we enter at once into the streets of an Eastern town, rather cleaner and wider than usual.

\* \* \* Our course lay for a short time by the city wall, then through a silent street—the houses closed, but pitted all over with bullet marks, then through a wider street, with public buildings shattered and half ruinous, English guards and English children looking from the doorless halls. Here the magazines were open, and native shopkeepers sat in their open stalls, but the marks of bullet and cannon-shot were no thicker and thicker at every step, the trees by the side of the way were split and rot, doors and windows were splintered, the gables were torn out of houses, and walls let in the light at jagged holes, through which shot and shell had heralded its advent long ago. At last all is ruin, house and wall and gate alike crumbled under a tremendous bombardment. Then comes a spot over which the storm had passed more lightly, and, in an open space, there stands—clean, fresh, and radiant in the morning sun—the restored church of Delhi, not destitute of architectural attractions, surmounted by a cupola and ball and cross. It was pleasant to see this Christian type amid the desolation and destruction around, the intensity of which increased as we approached the Cashmere gate. Through this immortal portal we passed, and were once more outside the city wall.”—Mr Russell’s destination was the residence of the commissioner, Mr Saunders, with whom, in the evening, he drove out to visit the most interesting features of the captured city, re-entering it by the Cashmere gate, and proceeding by the Chandnee Chouk, the main street; they presently diverged to the left, and were in front of the wall of the place of the Mogul, of which we have the following description—“A grand face of rich red sandstone, darkened by time, cre-

nellated in two rows, rises to a height of fifty or sixty feet above us, and sweeps to the right and left in melancholy grandeur, slightly broken in outline by turrets and flanking towers, the portal is worthy of the enclosure except the Victoria gate of the new palace of Westminster, I have seen no gateway so fine in proportion, and of such lofty elevation. The massive iron and brass embossed doors open into a magnificent vestibule in a great tower, which rises high above the level of the walls, and is surmounted by turrets and four cupols of elegant design. On passing the gates we find ourselves in a sort of arcade, vaulted, and running for the length of the tower, in the midst of which there is a very small court richly ornamented with sculptured stonework. \* \* \* \* The arcade conducts us to an open courtyard surrounded by houses of excessively poor aspect. At one side there, in the turreted gateway, Mr. Saunders points out to us the room, below a cupola, where two of our countrymen were brutally murdered. But, in the courtyard before us, a more terrible scene was enacted. A dry stone well, in which there once played a fountain, is in the centre of the court above it a venerable and decaying tree casts an imperfect shadow over the stone seats, on which, in former times, those who came hither to enjoy the play of the waters and their refreshing music, were wont to repose. It was at this spot, beneath this tree, and round the fountain, that the Christian captives, women and children, after several days of painful respite and anxiety worse than the fate they dreaded, were hacked to pieces by the swords of the ferocious and cowardly miscreants, who, in their bloody work, forgot that even Mohammed has ordered women and children to be saved from death.”—Around this court the guns taken from the enemy were now ranged, but the mouldering walls of the palace buildings, broken lattices, crumbling stone work and doors, and wood work split, decayed, and paintless—the silence only broken by the subdued voices of the visitors, or the tread of the sentry—rendered the whole place inexpressibly sad and desolate.

From this court the party proceeded towards another grand gateway, leading by a long vaulted arcade, paved like the former, but kept in better order, and surrounded by continuous edifices, some in white marble, all of rich decorations in arabesque, the most conspicuous of which, notwithstanding a

the attractions of a beautiful mosque, was the Hall of Audience—the Dewan Khass of the imperial palace of Delhi, which, with its then accessories, cannot be more graphically presented to the reader than in Mr Russell's own words—"We drove from the outer square under a high-arched gateway, piercing one side of the huge block of buildings, into a smaller square surrounded by fine edifices, connected by corridors and colonnades. The gates of this passage are remarkable for massive construction, and for rich ornamentation in brass and metal. The walls on each side of it have been selected by our soldiery for the exercise of their graphic talents, and portraits of the ex king, with a prodigious nose and beard, ornament more than one of the compartments. On emerging into the square, we saw, facing us, a long low building, white and clean looking, flat roofed, and raised above the level of the court, on an esplanade or terrace of the same material as the building itself, which we discovered to be marble. This is the Dewan Khass. It is 150 feet long, and 40 in breadth. At each angle there is a graceful eupola, which, in some degree, relieves the impression of meanness, caused by the flatness of the building. There was a habble of voices in the English tongue resounding from the inside. On ascending by a flight of steps four or five feet in height, to the terrace on which the Dewan Khass is built, and looking in through the wide, arched doorways, or rather between the rows of pillars on which the roof rests, we saw anything but the dazzling magnificence for which our reading had prepared us. In fact, the hall was filled, not with turbaned and jewelled rajahs, Mogul guards, and Oriental splendour, but with British infantry in its least imposing and prepossessing aspect—namely, in its undress, and in its washing and purely domestic hours. From pillar to pillar, and column to column, extended the graceful curves of the clothes-line, and shirts, and socks, and drawers flapped in the air in lieu of silken banners. Long lines of charpoys, or bedsteads, stretched from one end of the hall to the other, arms were piled against the columns, pouches, belts, and bayonets depended from the walls, and in the place where once blazed the fabulous glories of the peacock throne, reclined a private of her majesty's Gist, who, with brawny arms bared to the shoulders, as if he were engaged in a matter

requiring no ordinary exertion of muscular strength, was occupied in writing a letter. The hall was so obscure, that the richness of the decorations and the great beauty of the interior were not visible, until the eye became accustomed to the darkness, and penetrated through the accidents of the place to its permanent and more pleasing characteristics. The magnificent pavement has indeed been taken up and destroyed, and the land of the spoiler has been busy on the columns and walls of the divan, but still, above and around, one sees the solid marble worked as though it had been wax, and its surface inlaid with the richest, most profuse and fanciful, and exquisite designs in foliage and arabesque—the fruits and flowers being represented by sections of gems, such as amethysts, cornelian, blood-stone, garnet, topaz, and various coloured crystals, set in the brass-work of the decorations. Every one of the columns are thus decorated, and covered with inscriptions from the Koran, and the walls have the appearance of some rich work from the loom, in which a brilliant pattern is woven on a pure white ground, the tracery of rare and cunning artists. When the hall was clean and lighted up, and when its greatest ornament, the Takt Taous, or Peacock Throne, and the great crystal chair of state were in the midst, the *coup d'oeil* must have been exceedingly rich and beautiful. The crystal chair is still in existence, but I know not whether the peacock throne, which cost one million and a quarter sterling, fell into the hands of Nadir Shah or of some smaller robber. I do not know, however, what became of the bath cut out of a single block of agate, and beautifully carved, which was talked of all over Hindostan. Our soldiers broke it into pieces. They were also very clever in poking out the stones from the embellishments of the Dewan Khass with their bayonets, but that exercise of their talents is now forbidden."

From this part of the ruined palace of the Moguls, Mr Russell was conducted, by his friendly guide, to the apartments now appropriated to the use of the ex king and his attendants, the visit to whom is thus described,—"We drove out of the court, and turned into a long parallelogram surrounded by mean houses, in various stages of ruin. Nearly all of them were shut up and deserted. The lower stories of others were open, and used as magazines of corn and shops, for the encouragement of a sickly

traffic with the few miserable men and women who found shelter within the walls of the palace. At one end of the court there is a fine tower, surmounted by cupolas. In the apartments which were formerly occupied by officers of the royal household, are now lodged some of our officers, who do not find them very comfortable quarters. Sentinels of the Ghorka rifles, or of her majesty's 61st regiment, are on duty in every court. Within the walls of this palace there was a population of more than 5,000 souls, of which no less than 3,000 were of the blood-royal, and descendants of Timour lung, who had sunk into a state of abject debasement, and of poverty unredeemed by self respect or by usefulness. We turned out of this court near the tower by a breach made in the wall of some houses, and, passing over the bricks, came to a large garden in a state of utter neglect, and overrun with weeds, in which were a crazy kiosk and some tottering outhouses or offices. Several soldiers, some on duty, others lounging about their piled arms, were stationed close to the breach in the wall, at the foot of a rude stone staircase, some twelve or fifteen feet in height, which led from the garden to the top of one of the houses of the court, or enclosed space of the palace, through which we had just passed. The staircase was intended to form a communication between the rear of the house and the garden, and, ascending it, we found ourselves in a small open court at the top, which was formed by the flat roof of the house, and which might have been designed for another story, as the side walls were left standing. Two sentinels were on duty at the doorway of this little court at the top of the stairs, and several native servants were in attendance inside.

"In a dingy, dark passage, leading from the open court or terrace in which we stood,

which the ex-king was labouring, induced the visitors to turn into an adjacent court, where another section of the royal household met their view. "In one corner, stretched on a charpoy, lay a young man of slight figure and small stature, who sat up at the sound of our voices, and salaamed respectfully. He was dressed in fine white muslin, and had a gay yellow and blue silk sash round his waist; his head was bare, exhibiting the curious tonsure from the forehead to the top of the head, usual among many classes in the east; his face, oval and well shaped, was disfigured by a very coarse mouth and chin, but his eyes were quick and bright, if not very pleasant in expression. By the side of his charpoy, stood four white-tunicked and turbaned attendants, with folded arms, watching every motion of the young gentleman with obsequious anxiety. One of them said, 'He is sick,' and the commissioner gave directions that he should lie down again, and so, with another salaam, Jummo Bukht—for it was in the presence of that princely offshoot of the house of Delhi that we stood—threw himself on his back with a sigh, and turning his head towards us, drew up the chudder or sheet of his bed, to his face, as if to relieve himself of our presence. \* \* \* The indisposition of the king at length abated, and we went into the passage. He was still gasping for breath, and replied by a wave of the hand and a monosyllable to the commissioner. That dim wandering eyed, dreamy old man, with feeble hanging nether lip and toothless gums, was he indeed one who had conceived that vast plan of restoring a great empire—who had fomented the most gigantic mutiny in the history of the world, and who, from the walls of his ancient palace, had hurled defiance, and shot ridicule upon the race that held every throne in India in the hollow of their palms? Who could look

alone. He seemed but little inclined for conversation, and when Brigadier Stisted, who was with us, asked him how it was he had not saved the lives of our women, he made an impatient gesture with his hand, as if commanding silence, and said, 'I know nothing of it. I had nothing to say to it.' His grandchild, an infant a few months old, was presented to us, and some one or two women of the zenana showed themselves at the end of the passage, while the commissioner was engaged in conversation with one of the begums, who remained inside the curtain, and did not let us see her face."

The portrait of the fallen majesty of Delhi, as drawn by Mr Russell, may have been at the time scrupulously life-like, but it is far from prepossessing. That gentleman observes—"I tried in vain to let my imagination find out Timour in him. Had it been visited by diamond and cloth of gold, and officers of state, music and cannon, and herald and glittering cavalcade, and embroidered elephantry, perhaps I might have succeeded, but as it was, I found—I say it with regret, but with honesty and truth—I found only Holywell street! The forehead is very broad indeed, and comes out sharply over the brows, but it recedes at once into an ignoble Thersites-like skull, in the eyes were only visible the weakness of extreme old age—the dim, hazy, filmy light which seems about to glide to the great darkness, the nose, a noble Judæa aquiline, was deprived of dignity and power by the loose-lipped, nerveless, quivering and gasping mouth, filled with a flaccid tongue, but from chin and upper lip, there streamed a venerable, long, wavy, intermingling mustache and beard of white, which again all but retrieved his aspect. His hands and feet were delicate and fine, his garments scanty and foul. Recalling youth to that decrepit frame, restoring its freshness to that sunken cheek, one might see the king glowing with all the beauty of the warrior David, but as he sat before us, I was only reminded of the poorest form of the Israelitish type, as exhibited in decay and penurious greed in its poorest haunts among us." In the following sentences, which occur towards the end of Mr Russell's most interesting narrative there is food for reflection, and it may be, also, just cause for regret—"I could not help thinking, as I looked on the old man, that our rulers were somewhat to blame for the crimes he had com-

mitted, in so far as their conduct may have led him to imagine that success in his designs was feasible. In what way did the majesty of Britain present itself before the last of the house of Timour? With all the grandeur of a protecting power, and the dignity of a conquering state? No. At least with the honest independence of an honourable equality? No. Our representative, with 'bated breath and whispering humbleness,' nye, with bare feet and bowed head, came into the presence of our puppet king. More than that, the English captain of the palace guard, if summoned to the presence of the king, as he frequently was, had not only to uncover his feet, but was not permitted to have an umbrella carried over his head, or to bear one in his own hand, while proceeding through the courtyards—a privilege permitted to every officer of the royal staff. This was the case in the time of the last resident, up to the moment of the revolt, and in the time of the last captain of the guard, up to the time of his assassination! Surely if we contrast this abject submission within the walls of the palace, with the haughty and irritating assumption of superiority that pervaded European society without those walls, proclaiming hourly a living lie to the astute people of India, we have little cause to feel surprise at the consequences of our own conduct, characterised as it had been by duplicity and arrogance.

Of the actual condition of the once imperial city at the time of Mr Russell's visit, and its probable future, the following remarks by him are pertinent, and may be referred to when the history of its pristine magnificence shall be contrasted with the desolation that, at no distant period, is likely to succeed it—"Although, in the very environs of Delhi, there are striking evidences of the power of man over the work of his hands, and of the possibility of completely destroying vast cities, it remains to be seen if such strength lies in the hands of civilisation, and whether it did not pass away with the race of barbaric conquerors. Delhi is or was, famous for its gold and silver embroidery, and its worked shawls and laces, but that trade is already withering. The mechanics, it is true, rescued their quarter by a ransom, some of which has been remitted to them, but only some half dozen of these skilled artisans are now permitted to remain in the town, and thus the trade will die out, or seek shelter

elsewhere. The Delhi jewellers have become pedlars and packmen. One of these people, a famous engraver, who has the names of crowned heads in Europe, and many great Indians, in his book of customers, showed us the impression of a seal made for the ex-king of Delhi; and added, that he had to summon him to the court of law before he was paid for his labour. An itinerant jeweller, who displayed as part of his valuables certain worthless bits of paper, in the shape of promissory notes from English officers and ladies, to pay certain sums of rupees and interest which he assured us he never received, was one of the greatest sufferers by the revolt. 'What could I do?' said he, 'the sepoys rushed in at once, and guarded the gates. Had I tried to get out, I should have been robbed and killed. So I had to remain, and the sepoys came and took all my jewels. Then the siege began, and then the English took the city, and your soldiers broke in, and cleared off what the sepoys had left.' The people say that Delhi will never recover the siege, do what we like, and that it will not be much affected, one way or other, by any effort of ours to make it prosperous, or the reverse. 'You will not act,' they say, 'like the Mahrattas or the Persians. You will not destroy holy places which they spared, or waste the people with universal massacres, but the thousands who depended on the court of Delhi are gone for ever. You close the city gates against all but a few, and there are none now who care for Delhi, except those to whom it would be a sacred place, if all its buildings were razed to the ground.'"

However this may have been as it concerns the native population, it is quite clear that the policy which recommended the demolition of the fortifications of the city, the divergence of the intended railway, the levelling of the city gates, and the abandon-

ment to decay of its palaces and temples, had been overruled; and that, instead of utter neglect, the prospect of a more cheerful future had already dawned upon the once imperial city. Thus, by the beginning of October, the old fort of Sehinghur had been effectually repaired, the magazine removed into the palace, and two heavy batteries were in progress of erection near the latter, to command the Chandnee Chouk. The railway, which was to have been diverted from the city, had been again marked out upon the plan to follow its original track, and, on the whole, it became doubtful whether, instead of demolition and abandonment, there was not to be restoration and aggrandisement for Delhi.

Before resuming the narrative of current events in the progress of the war, from July to the close of the year, it may be permitted to refer to a most interesting letter respecting the final disposition of the Europeans murdered at Lucknow on the 19th of the previous November. The communication was dated from Lucknow, August 23rd, 1858, and was as follows—

"As anything tending to throw light on the fate of some of our helpless countrymen is always interesting, I give you the following particulars of the disposal of the remains of Sir C. M. Jackson, Captain Orr, and Sergeant-major Norton,† as related by a Madrassee who came with Havelock's force to the relief, and was one of the few with General Neill when that officer was killed—himself escaping by rushing into a house held by the sepoys, and declaring he was of the Sweeper caste, and faithful to the begum. This man states, that the unfortunate gentlemen were killed on the 19th of November, the day Sir Colin Campbell relieved the garrison, and that their bodies were left lying about one hundred yards outside the gateway of the Kaiserbagh. After the chief had retired, the Madrassee, with other

\* In closing the remarks connected with Delhi, Mr Russell says—"I shall not attempt a description of the city—of its grand canal—of the mosques—of the historical spots sacred to Mussulmans—of the ruins of the ancient city some miles away—of the fantastic grandeur of the Kootub or of the great mausoleums where as a small stone in a huge setting repose some famed members of the imperial house of the Moguls—among which the investigations of the inquiring traveller may sometimes receive very peremptory and characteristic interruption. The morning I visited the Kootub I had a great wish to climb the interior of the fantastic and extraordinary monumental pillar which stands in the midst of the ruins—a tapering cylinder

of sculptured stone, as high as St Paul's and engraved like a fine gem from the base to the summit. My infirmities however prohibited the attempt, very fortunately for myself, for it appeared that a leopard had taken up his residence in a recess in the dark interior staircase and that he had, on the very previous day, attacked and nearly killed a native at the foot of the pillar. Saifu Junga's tomb was also the residence at this time of a tiger or leopard which carried off several goats and sheep, and had eaten some bullocks; but none of our party were in a condition for hunting and the tiger (or ourselves) escaped."—*Vide* Letter of special correspondent of the *Times* Sept 3rd 1858.

† See ante pp 93, 94

prisoners, was brought out to bury the remains. They were tied arm to arm, and in the waistcoat pocket of one of them, described as a short person, a prayerbook was found. Another had a jungal bullet sticking in the left side. All the bodies were dressed in European clothes, excepting one, who wore native shoes. A leathern helmet-shaped hat lay near another. All three were in a row, lying on their backs; their faces and hands were so black from decomposition, that at first the Madrassee thought they must be natives. A trench was near, and, according to orders, he helped to native their arms, and assisted to place them in it. They were interred one above the other, and the hat and book placed on the body of the uppermost. The sepoy looking on were indulging in jests, addressing each other, they inquired who these great men were. One said they were new governors, when the others shouted, 'Oh yes—this is the governor of Madras, that of Bombay, and the other of Bengal!' This was the burden of their song till mother earth took its own unto herself again, but the bright spirits that once dwelt within those perishable tenements, were for ever beyond any earthly requirement. On receiving the above information, Captain Hutchinson, the military secretary to the chief commissioner, determined to find, if possible, the last resting place of the brave men thus mercilessly sacrificed to sepoy vengeance, and taking with him the Madrassee, they started on the search from a gateway of the Kaiserbagh, which the man recognised as the one near which the gentlemen were murdered. After a long search, and much conversation with native carpenters and masons, who had apparently seen the last fortifications constructed, he ascertained the spot where a house had stood, under cover of which the Madrassee remembered crouching on his way to inter the bodies, and from which point he hoped to trace his next landmark—a kutcha wall. After digging and clearing away much rubbish everything was found as described by the Madrassee. Then came the difficulty of tracing a mud wall, along which he had gone, until he reached a trench, in which the bodies were interred. The carpenters remembered the existence of a wall, but not the least trace of it now remained. At length a point was decided on to which it ran, when the Madrassee declared that the sought-for trench lay about thirty feet in

the direction of the Chuttur Munzil, but here Captain Hutchinson was completely foiled. The first day the carpenters maintained no trench had existed there at all; and, on the second, imagined they recollected a trench, but that it had been completely swallowed up, and dug out in the vast canal the mutineers dug round the Kaiserbagh, in their last fortifications thrown up. The ground was examined very carefully, but the bones of our murdered countrymen were not found. It was certain, however, that the locality was within fifty yards either way. As they then stood at the junction of two or three newly formed roads, it has now been decided to raise a monument on the spot, with an inscription recording the names, and the words, 'Victims of 1857.' The last rites could not be performed, but the prayerbook on the uppermost body silently whispered the Christian burial service for the dead."

It will be remembered, that in force, under Sir Hope Grant, marched from Lucknow on the 21st of July, for the purpose of occupying Fyzabad, and also of relieving Maun Sing, who was then beleaguered in his fortress of Shahgunge by a large rebel force. Both these objects were accomplished, but while the English troops were yet fourteen miles from Fyzabad, the rebel commanders broke up their army into three divisions, and decamped with such haste, that the troops had no chance whatever of coming up with them. The first and second of those divisions, it was ascertained, had taken the direction of Sultanpore, on the Goomtee, and a column was forthwith dispatched, under Brigadier Horsford, in pursuit. The force arrived before Sultanpore on the 12th of August, and, on the following day, after a strong resistance, it occupied the town, and, having driven the rebels across the river, shelled them on the opposite bank. As they were not pursued by the brigadier, they regained courage, and returning to the bank of the Goomtee, opened a severe fire on the town, their main body, under the command of the Amathee rajah, and said to be 16,000 strong, being at Hossainpore, four miles west of the English position at Sultanpore. At this place, a chief of importance named Beni Madho, joined the rebel army, and called upon the talookdars of Bunsware to oppose the Sultanpore column.

On the 20th of July, General Grant entered Fyzabad, and, on the 30th, Maun

Sing, who had been relieved at Shahgunge, came into the camp. Of this individual, who occupied an important position throughout the progress of the revolt, the following details may be considered interesting. A few years previous, two brothers, Bucktawar Sing and Dursun Sing, were in the military service of the nawab, Saadut Ali Khan, of Oude—the second named holding a command under the chukledar of the Iyzabad district. He there married the daughter of a Brahmin, Gunga Misar, and his first act was to eject his father-in-law, and seize upon his village, which thus became the foundation of the "Bainanah," or purchased estate, as Maun Sing's dominions are generally styled, in reference to the supposed mode of acquisition, and as contrasted with territory passing by adoption or descent. From this small beginning, Dursun advanced till he reached the dignity of chukledar, and, after adding one by one to his villages, left at his death a vast territorial property to his son, Maun Sing, who, at the period of the outbreak, was the recognised owner of 761 villages. An individual possessing the influence that so large a property naturally invested him with, was not one to be rashly irritated, and certainly not to be wantonly injured, and yet, in 1856, a year preceding the outbreak, this man was chased out of his estates by a regiment of the Company's cavalry, upon a plea of default in payment of a head rent or assessment to government, which he objected to as enormous and unjust. This affront was in some way or other condoned, and he returned to one of his residences near Iyzabad, where he continued until symptoms of disaffection among the troops at that station became apparent. At that time he was upon the most amicable terms with the English authorities, and had offered to secure the safety of the women and children of the station, in the event of their being imperilled. Unfortunately this moment was chosen by the chief commissioner at Lucknow to renew the insult of the previous year, by placing him under arrest, as "a suspicious person, likely to be troublesome in the then state of the country." From this indignity, he was, after much difficulty, released, at the earnest solicitation, and upon the protest of the superintendent commissioner at Iyzabad, who appreciated the value of his friendship at the crisis too evidently approaching. Maun Sing's revenge for the unprovoked

wrongs was indeed magnanimous, he had no sooner been released from captivity, than he exerted himself to provide for the safety of English fugitives from Iyzabad, twenty-seven of whom he conveyed to his fortress at Shahgunge, and there protected them until the taint of rebellion infected his own people, when he informed the officers under his roof, that the troops were clamorous for their lives, and he could no longer protect them, though he would answer for the safety of the women and children.\* Ultimately the whole of the fugitives were put on board some boats secured by him for the purpose, and were conveyed down the river to Gopalpur, where they continued in safety until they could be forwarded to Allahabad. In September, the importance of his friendship appeared manifest to the government, and, on the 12th of that month, the governor-general in council, by a telegram to General Outram, referred to the chief in the following terms—

"Maun Sing may be assured that if he continues to give the governor-general effective proof of his fidelity and good will, his position in Oude will be at least as good as it was before the British government assumed the administration of the country, while the proprietors in Oude who have deserted the government, will lose their possessions."

"Whatever promises may have been made to Maun Sing or to others by Sir Henry Lawrence are confirmed and shall be fully redeemed. None, however, have been reported to me."

Almost immediately after this communication, it seems that Maun Sing, instigated by a report no doubt purposely spread to entrap him into hostilities with the government, collected a large body of troops, and, placing himself at their head, was said to have joined the forces of the begum at Lucknow. There is no proof that he actually joined, or that he personally took in active part in, any operations of the rebel army, although it was rumoured that a portion of his followers manned a battery against the Baille guard until its relief by General Outram on the 25th of September. This conduct of the rajah was afterwards explained, as appears by the following communication from Captain Bruce, for Major-general Outram, to the governor-general—

(Telegraphic) Cawnpore October 21st 1857.  
Rajah Maun Sing has written to me with enclosure for General Outram. The purport of these is as follows—Says he never intended to go to Lucknow at all had not the rajas of the late

\* See vol. i., p. 393

Rajah Buktawar Sing, been seized there by the rebels.\* He went with Mr Gubbins (of Benares) sanction to rescue her, he could not get away until all the rebels opposed the British at Alumbagh; he seized this opportunity of rescuing her, making every arrangement to move back twenty coss from Lucknow. He swears on his oath, up to this time, he did not connect himself with the rebels. It was willed his name now should be connected with the rebels, and himself fall under displeasure of government thus. He suddenly heard the rebels were defeated, and the British, attacking the place, were about to disgrace his majesty's seraglio. He at once marched to protect it, for he had eaten the king's salt. If the general views with justice his actions, he will see that he did not join the rebels. He protected the British authorities in his district, and could not keep himself aloof from protecting the king's honour. Now he is ready to obey all government orders and if his vakeel's life be spared, he will submit the whole facts. He hopes the general will let him know his design, that he may carry it out.

"To this letter I sent the following reply:—'I have received your letter and inclosure for General Outram. The British do no injury to helpless women and children, however humble their rank, and you ought to have known that those of the king would not have been dishonoured. I have written to-day to General Outram, who is now in the Lucknow residency; and in the meantime if you are really friendly to the British government, you are desired at once to withdraw all your men from Lucknow, and communicate with the chief commissioner. I have sent to tell your vakeel that if he likes to come in and see me, he will meet with no injury.—The vakeel has since come, and having expressed his master's willingness to comply with the terms of my letter, departed for Lucknow.'"

That Maun Sing was truthful in his avowal of motives, and non participation in the objects of the rebels, may be fairly inferred from the following passage in a telegram from the lieutenant governor of the Central Provinces, to the governor general, dated on the 13th of the month:—"Nana Sahib has returned from Lucknow to Futtehpoore Chowrassee, opposite Bithoor, having had a turn up with Maun Sing before he left."

At any rate, it cannot be denied that there was, throughout the entire conduct of this chief, a glow of chivalric disinterestedness and recklessness of personal safety that eminently distinguished him from others of his influential countrymen. He had rendered to the Company's government benefits for insults offered and unatoned for; he had protected its fugitive subjects, and he had now advanced in arms towards Lucknow, to rescue a female relative from the hands of the rebels, and had then with-

\* The lady referred to was a widow of the uncle of Maun Sing. See preceding page.

drawn; but learning that the honour of his sovereign (for such the king of Oude still was, until his allegiance had been formally transferred to the English government) was likely to be imperilled by the wild license of a conquering army, he again came forward to protect the inviolability of the zenana. In none of these acts can we trace any fair indication of hostility to the British. According to the testimony of Mr Rees,† Maun Sing stood in the first rank among the most distinguished of the "insurgent" (?) rajahs, and the most powerful landed barons of the kingdom of Oude, and the testimony of that author, which is certainly not marked by any strong bias in favour of the chief, exonerates him from the charge of active co-operation in the rebellion. He says:—"During the whole of the siege, I believe his troops (10,000 in number) never aided the other insurgents in their operations against us, but preserved a sort of armed neutrality." Mr. Rees further states, that, "shortly after Sir James Outram's assumption of the command of the Oude field force, Maun Sing sent a messenger to him, offering to mediate with the rebel government for the safety of the prisoners in its hands, and stipulating for a guarantee, as the price of his doing so, and fighting on the side of the British, that his own life would be spared, and all his estates be restored. He was told to withdraw his troops and return to his estate. Government was generous, and would no doubt act well towards him, but he must trust to that generosity alone. After this," observes Mr Rees, "Maun Sing had the insolence to offer to escort our women, children, and wounded to Cawnpore, with his 10,000 men! This would have been like entrusting the safety of a flock to a wolf. We had learned to distrust natives now." So much for opinion on the spot. To a distant observer it might appear possible, that whatever seemed doubtful or unfriendly on the part of this powerful chief, could have fairly been attributed to the distrust of him unworthily manifested at the early stage of the revolt, and never entirely concealed even in the face of his most generous and disinterested services.

By the middle of September, the general aspect of affairs in Oude was considered satisfactory, and with the exception of the military operations then progressing in the

† *Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow*, p. 263.



neighbourhood of Sultanpore, matters looked hopeful. The districts then in the hands of the British were represented as lying in an ellipse, of which Lucknow and Durrabad were foci—the ends of one diameter being Cawnpore and Fyzabad, which cities were situated almost due east and west of each other. The civil jurisdiction of the government extended, on an average, to about twenty-five miles round Lucknow, and nearly the same distance round Durrabad, and the line of communication was uninterrupted from Cawnpore to Fyzabad, bordering upon the Goruckpore district in the North-West Province. To the south of this region, the rebels, under different leaders, and in various districts, numbered in the aggregate about 45,000 men and 30 guns, and to the north were the forces of the begum and her partisans, the sum of whose power was represented by about 60,000 men and 50 guns. These numbers were exclusive of about 6,000 men under Balla Rao, at Bareilly, and such gathering as might still adhere to the Nana Sahib, who had esconced himself in the fort of Churda, in the north east of Oude. It was therefore evident that some heavy work was still before the British troops, when the arrival of cold weather should enable them to resume operations of magnitude in the open field. Among the villagers and towns people matters were quietly settling down, and many of the chief zemindars appeared desirous to send in offers of submission and allegiance, but were prevented doing

so with safety by the numerous bands of rebels that were scattered over the country. The great event, however, to which all eyes were now directed, was the approaching campaign in Oude. It was naturally assumed, that the plan of that campaign had been formed by the commander in chief upon principles that would lead to the most successful results, but it was also remembered that the tactics of the enemy were to avoid any grand operations, and to harass and wear out the European troops by an incessant repetition of forced marches and tedious and desultory engagements in a country difficult of passage, a plan which would necessarily render the forthcoming campaign one of extreme embarrassment. The great problem to be solved was, not how to defeat the enemy, but how to reach them, spread as they were over a vast extent of country, interspersed with wide and interminable jungles and intricate passes, and studded with fortresses in every direction—under circumstances, also, that rendered it next to impossible to bring the rebels to bay, and at the same time to preserve the European soldiers from the demoralizing effects of exposure to the sun. Wisdom and energy were, however, paramount both in the council chamber and the camp, and the hearts of the loyal in India and in Europe, were calmed by the assurance that the direction of affairs was in the hands of men whose past achievements indisputably entitled them to all confidence as to the future.

#### CHAPTER XIV

CALCUTTA; UNPOPULARITY OF LORD CANNING. PETITION FOR HIS RECALL. POLICY OF HIS GOVERNMENT, TRIBUTE TO SIR HENRY LAWRENCE. ARRIVAL OF TROOPS FROM ENGLAND. FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT, THE PUBLIC OBTAINING GROWING EFFICIENCIES. PROPOSED REDEMPTION OF THE LAND-TAX. POSITION OF THE EX-KING OF OUDH. THE ARMS ACT. PRESENTATION OF COLOURS TO THE CALCUTTA VOLUNTEER GUARDS. CORRESPONDENCE. THE BRANCOING ACT. GRAND REVIEW OF BRITISH TROOPS BY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL. LORD CANNING'S EXPLANATION OF HIS POLICY. MR. GRANT AT CAWNPORE. RECEPTION OF THE LUCKNOW FUGITIVES. DEATH OF THE BISHOP OF CALCUTTA, THE GOVERNOR GENERAL AT ALLAHABAD, A PANIC AT CALCUTTA, PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

To preserve the continuity of our narrative it will be necessary to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by a cessation of important military operations in the revolted

districts, to revert to the state of public affairs at the seat of the Anglo Indian government.

The extreme unpopularity of Viscount

Canning at an early stage of the insurrectionary movement, has already been noticed, and the feeling adverse to his general policy was greatly extended by the measures introduced by him for restricting the press, as well as by the tone of discouragement with which all suggestions for the maintenance of tranquillity in the home presidency were met by his lordship in council. One consequence of the feeling thus engendered was shown in a petition to the queen from the inhabitants of Calcutta, which prayed for the immediate recall of the governor general,\* and in another petition to the parliament of the United Kingdom, in which the British inhabitants of Calcutta prayed that measures might be adopted for substituting the direct government of the crown in place of that of the East India Company,† in reference to whose mismanagement the following strong allegations were submitted — "Your petitioners can look for no redress to the powers to whom the government of this great country is delegated, they having shown themselves unequal to the task. The government of the East India Company have neither men, money, nor credit, what credit they had was destroyed by their conduct in the last financial operations. The army has dissolved itself, the treasures have either been plundered by the rebels, or exhausted by the public service, and a loan even at six per cent would scarcely find subscribers." The petitioners further said — "The system under which the country has been hitherto governed — utterly antagonistic as it has ever been to the encouragement of British settlement and enterprise in India, has entirely failed to preserve the power of the queen, to win the affections of the natives, or to secure the confidence of the British in India."

These weighty charges had certainly, to a great extent been warranted by the effects of the policy adopted by Lord Canning and his immediate predecessors, and, as we have already observed, "there were truths enunciated in the petitions that it was impossible to deny, and that it had now become hazardous to neglect the serious consideration of." Even among the most cautious observers of Lord Canning's administrative policy, who at the moment thought it but just to abstain from avowed censure, there were many who did not deny that, in the midst of the unprecedented difficulties with which the governor general had to contend, errors

of action or of judgment might have been committed, and the pertinacious incredulity with which the early rumours of the gathering storm were received at Calcutta, and thence officially transmitted to the home government, certainly did not tend to encourage confidence on the part of the European community of Bengal in the wisdom of the government. Possibly, much of the irritation that existed in the popular mind during the early stages of the revolt, might have been accounted for by the want of tact on the part of those to whom the government had delegated responsible duties at a perilous crisis, and some of whom had shown themselves utterly incompetent to deal with the circumstances around them, while the odium of their inefficiency fell with redoubled weight upon the individual by whom they had been entrusted with authority.

At the first outbreak of the revolt, it is quite obvious that the Indian government could not have used any language, or adopted any general line of action, that would, at the same time, have satisfied the European and the native populations. While every Englishman was filled with alarm and with just indignation, professions of impartiality and of confidence in the good will of the natives, jarred against the prevalent desire for vengeance, and the irritated pride of race. On the other hand, the loyal feeling of every yet faithful Hindoo and Mussulman might have been destroyed, if official proclamations had echoed the language adopted by the press and in private society. Lord Canning might perhaps have been more careful to soothe the susceptibilities of his alarmed and enraged countrymen, but it was his most pressing duty to take care that a mere military mutiny, which at the outset it appeared to be, was not goaded on, by injudicious treatment, to a great national revolt. With this object before him, the governor general, in the case of the doubtful regiments, affected to hope even against hope, and, in some degree, it was afterwards found that, by this appearance of confidence he succeeded in giving the Company's government a fresh hold on the loyalty of a large portion of the people of India. There was a purpose in the public and almost ostentatious display of his determination that, in the midst of the anarchy which raged over the country, all subjects of the Company's government should be equal before the law. If by this he offended

\* See vol. i. p. 592

† *Ibid.*, p. 697

the English residents of the capital, the consequences were likely to fall on himself personally, while the advantages derivable from the gratitude and confidence of the native community, would be secured by his act to the government and the country. It has been truly observed, "that politicians trained under a free constitution, seldom desire that their rulers should be found in advance of a popular movement, public feeling supplies the force which is required for great achievements, and it is the business of high functionaries, by regulating the impulse, to take care that it is not wasted in a wrong direction." In the present instance, the nation was unanimous in the determination, at whatever cost, to effect the restoration of its supremacy, and the punishment of the guilty, but its best efforts might have been thrown away, if the supreme government had, from deference to wild clamour and reckless indignation, given occasion for general disaffection among the millions of its Indian subjects. The Calcutta malcontents were, however, able to console themselves by the reflection, that the neglect of compliance with their wishes for the establishment of martial law, implied, in a certain sense, absolute confidence in their own loyalty. It was probably anticipated by the governor general, that the disappointed would become agitators, but he had no fear that any contingency would convert them into rebels. At the worst, even if the results of his policy had confirmed their gloomiest predictions, he knew that he could have commanded their wealth, and even their lives, to ward off the dangers they had denounced, and to the suppression of which they had pledged themselves, and, in the meanwhile, he felt that he would be justified in disarming a more possible enemy by generous forbearance and undisguised confidence, than by confining himself to merely strengthening the attachment of natural and tried friends, from among whom no possible chance of danger could arise.

As time progressed, the fact became daily more apparent, that the governor general had deserved well of his country, and was entitled to its most generous interpretation of his conduct. He had prosecuted the war with vigour to the utmost limit of his means, and had also preserved the loyalty of the great bulk of the native populations. The capture of Delhi, the relief of Lucknow, the victory at Cawnpore,

alike reflected a portion of the honour acquired by each on the administrative head at Calcutta, while the unbroken tranquillity of the province under his immediate care, and the good feeling manifested by many of the native princes, might fairly be attributed to the calm and thoughtful policy which, with a generous disregard of his own personal feelings, he consistently pursued through the hurricane of opinions that raged around his path.

At length, the more influential portions of the community—the gentry, landowners, and capitalists of Bengal and the neighbouring provinces—showed they had not been insensible to the prudent impartiality of Lord Canning's language and conduct. In two energetic and well written addresses, they thanked him for his resistance to the clamour against the native populations, and congratulated him on the success of the British arms at Delhi. More than 2,000 memorialists reminded the government of the fact, that "natives of Bengal—men, women, and children—have, in every part of the scene of the mutinies, been exposed to the same rancour, and treated with the same cruelty, which the mutineers and their misguided countrymen have displayed to the British within their reach." The memorialists recognised as equal merits, the determination to crush the disaffected and rebellious, and the resolution to protect and reassure the loyal and obedient. Every civil and military officer, every soldier, and almost every European upon the soil of India, might have claimed to share the credit of the vigour that had been displayed, but the honour of steadily discriminating between the rebels and the peaceful community, was assigned, by the common voice of enemies and friends, principally to the governor general. A second memorial, bearing 5,000 signatures, more directly referred to the demands put forth in the Calcutta petition to which we have already referred. "It has become notorious," said the memorialists, "throughout this land, that your lordship's administration has been assailed by faction, and assailed because your lordship in council has refused compliance with capricious demands, and to treat the loyal portion of the Indian population as rebels, because your lordship has directed that punishment for offences against the state should be dealt out with discrimination, because your

\* See vol. 1, p. 502.

lordship, having regard for the future, has not pursued a policy of universal irritation and unreasoning violence; and finally, because your lordship has confined coercion and punishment within necessary and politic limits."

The importance of such declarations as the above, did not so much rest upon the soundness of the reasoning, or the accuracy of the statements, contained in them, as upon the position and influence of the individuals from whom they emanated, and the effect they were likely to produce upon native opinion. The Calcutta opponents to Lord Canning's administration, complained that the wishes and opinions of aliens were placed in competition with their own, and that the policy eulogised by the former, had been adopted in preference to that recommended by themselves; but, fortunately, the government of India remembered that its subjects were principally Indians, and that although rajahs and zemindars, talookdars and merchants, might possibly be perfidious, yet it would have been exceedingly inconvenient if their unquestioned influence over their countrymen had been employed to embarrass the government. Lord Canning happily discerned the true policy to be adopted, and if, in pursuing it, he occasionally seemed to incline too much to a system of conciliation, it must be remembered, also, that his error was on the side of prudence, since he had not only to suppress and extinguish the fires of a wide spreading rebellion, but to be careful that, in doing so, he did not render British rule in India impossible for the time to come.

During the months of September and October, 1857, the proceedings of the supreme council of India appeared to find little favour in the eyes of the journalists of Calcutta, and rumours circulated upon the alleged authority of advices from London, by which, on one day, the immediate recall of Viscount Canning, and the appointment of Earl Granville as governor-general, were confidently affirmed. On another, the Earl of Ellenborough was declared to be the sage to whose wisdom and moderation the future destinies of India were again to be entrusted, thus *canard* being succeeded by another, giving the date of the cabinet council at which the recall of Lord Canning was determined upon, and the promotion of Lord Elphinstone from the government of Bombay, to the exalted position of gov-

ernor-general of India. It is superfluous to observe, that the foundation for these various rumours were simply based upon the imagination of the authors of them, and that the only point, but one, upon which the Calcutta journals were agreed at this particular juncture, was the utter ignorance of each in respect to the intention of the Home government and the Court of Directors. The exceptional point had reference to the government notification of the 19th of September, which paid a just tribute to the merits of the late Sir Henry Lawrence and Mr. J. R. Colvin.\* The reappointment of General Outram to the chief commissionership of Oude, in place of Sir Henry Lawrence, and to the command of the troops in the Diopore and Cawnpore divisions, was also received with unanimous satisfaction and approval. The private minute of the governor-general, on the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, has already been given,† and the following is the government notification —

"Fort William Foreign Department, 19th Sept., 1857

"*Notification*—The right honourable the governor-general in council having appointed a successor to the late Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B., in the post of chief commissioner of Oude desires to take the opportunity of testifying publicly in this form, as he has already testified in addressing the Hon. Court of Directors the deep sorrow with which he laments the loss of that eminent man. In the course of a service extending over thirty five years in *Burmah in Afghanistan in Nepal, in the Punjab, and in Rajpootana* Sir Henry Lawrence was distinguished for high ability devoted zeal and generous and self-denying exertions for the welfare of those around him. As a soldier, an administrator, and a statesman, he has earned a reputation amongst the foremost. Impressed with a sense of his great qualifications the governor-general in council selected him to be chief commissioner in Oude. In that position from the first appearance of dissatisfaction amongst the troops quartered in the province, his conduct was marked by foresight, calm judgment, and courage; and if anything could have averted the calamitous outbreak which has been followed by the temporary subversion of British authority in Oude the measures which were taken by Sir Henry Lawrence and the confidence which all men, high and low European and native felt in his energy, his wisdom, and his spirit of justice and kindness would have accomplished that end. As long as there was any hope of restraining the wavering soldiery by appeals to their sense of duty and honour, he left no becoming means untried to conciliate them. When violent and open mutiny called for stern retribution he did not shrink from the (to him) uncongenial task of inflicting severe punishment. When general disorder and armed rebellion threatened, he was undaunted; and the precautionary preparations which from the beginning he had had in view, were carried out rapidly and

\* See ante, pp. 7, 56.

† See ante, p. 68.

effectually. He has been prematurely removed from the scene; but it is due mainly to his exertions, judgment, and skill, that the garrison of Lucknow has been able to defy the assaults of its assailants and still maintains its ground. The loss of such a man in the present circumstances of India is indeed a heavy public calamity. The governor general in council deplores it deeply, and desires to place on record his appreciation of the eminent services, his admiration of the high character and his affectionate respect for the memory of Sir Henry Lawrence.

By order of the governor general of India in council

"G T EDMONSTON, Secretary to the Government of India"

The native feeling in Calcutta was naturally influenced by the mild and equitable policy of the governor-general, and to manifest their appreciation of the efforts of his government for the maintenance of tranquillity at the capital, the chief Hindoo families in Calcutta resolved to dispense with the usual *nauchas*, and other entertainments at the Puga festival, in consequence of the troubled state of the country, and the leading Mohammedans also presented an address to the lieutenant governor of Bengal, expressive of their satisfaction at the measures taken to prevent disturbances during the Mohurrum. Meantime, reinforcements of troops from England began to arrive in the Hooghly, and the dawn of a brighter future for India was gradually developed in the revival of the military prestige and uncompromising supremacy of its English rulers.\*

By the middle of October the reinforcements from England began to arrive in India, and public attention, in Calcutta, was principally directed to the reception and dispatch of troops to the various points of disturbance, and to the monetary operations of the government, which were rendered

extremely embarrassing by the financial difficulties that had arisen from the disordered state of the country, and the consequent inability of the bank of Bengal to make further advances on government securities. In some instances it was found impracticable to raise money for immediate purposes on the deposit of state paper, and the heavy sacrifices necessitated in consequence by the holders of such securities, had the effect of still further depressing the money market, and thereby complicating the difficulties under which the government already laboured. The refusal of the bank came upon the public by surprise, and added considerably to the state of alarm and excitement occasioned by the insurrectionary proceedings in the North-Western Provinces, while the eagerness with which the occasion was seized by a large number of indigo planters and railway contractors, to press their claims to compensation for losses sustained through the mutiny, upon the notice of the government at the earliest possible moment, by no means tended to mitigate the anxieties of the governor general and his council, or to encourage a general feeling of confidence in the policy which had to develop itself amidst daily accumulating difficulties.

With regard to the financial state of the Indian government at the time, it is to be observed, that at the close of 1856, five months only before the outbreak at Meerut, the balance sheet of revenue and expenditure exhibited a deficiency of £972,791, to be provided for from the income of the ensuing year. The number of men in the Indian army, including all her majesty's and the Company's troops, with the various contingents and irregular corps, officered

\* The *Calcutta Englishman* of September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1857, noticed these arrivals in the following passage—Fresh European regiments are arriving. In particular, on Sunday, September the 20<sup>th</sup> H M's 93<sup>rd</sup> highlanders arrived in H M's ship *Belle Isle*. As the ship arrived off Garden Reach, where were a party of ladies and gentlemen, enjoying a day's pleasure in the botanical gardens the latter saluted them with the waving of handkerchiefs, and the usual demonstrations of welcome. On this, the men on board, who swarmed like bees along the ship's side set up a cheer which appeared to make the welkin ring again. This was several times repeated and followed by the martial sound of the highland pibroch playing some of Scotland's national airs. Much to the disappointment of the men they have not as yet been able to land, in consequence of the temporary difficulty experienced in obtaining suitable accommodation for the number of troops daily expected from England, China, and elsewhere,

but they have expressed a strong desire we are told, to disembark as speedily as possible, to be off without delay. 'Up and at them!' is the cry. It was in allusion to this gallant regiment of which both officers and men so highly distinguished themselves during the late Crimean campaign that the Paris *an* *Chariot* hit off a happy sketch, representing a highlander keeping sentry upon the brink of a precipice with his back turned towards a Crimean Tartar and a French Zouave. Upon the former expressing his dread lest the highlander should take a step to the rear and be lost, he is reassured by the Zouave who significantly enough replies—'Ne craignez rien mon ami ces Gaillards là ne reculent jamais.' Neither do we think they will if ever men were eager for the fray, it is they. The *Tegmout* and the *Himalaya* which were among the arrivals on September the 10<sup>th</sup> both contained troops. The former we believe is the first of the ships sent from England with reinforcements."

from the line, amounted, before the rebellion, to 323,823 men. The annual expense of maintaining this force was estimated at £10,117,369, or nearly ten millions and a half sterling. At the end of 1857, not more than 100,000 of the native army were in mutiny, and the expenses of the force, it was calculated, would be reduced, by consequent forfeiture, some three millions and a half, but, on the other hand, recruiting was progressing in the Punjab and in Scinde, so that the actual saving upon the estimates from the revolt, could not be taken at more than two millions. There were also, up to the beginning of October, about 30,000 troops on their way from England, the passage money to be paid for each man being £40. The cost of the maintenance of these reinforcements could not be calculated in India at less than £2,000,000, and thus, in one item alone, the estimated saving from the pay and maintenance of the native army, was certain to be absorbed. There was then to be provided the one million and a half required to cover the expense of the passage which was placed against the probable saving derived from the stoppage of public works. So far, therefore, the military expenses of the government appeared to be brought within the limits of the previous year's expenditure, but a difficulty then arose, from the fact that not half the usual revenue was likely to be collected from the north-west, and from some parts of Bengal, that vast expenses must be incurred in transmitting the European reinforcements to various parts of the country, and to meet the enhanced charges in the Punjab. It was, consequently, deemed impossible, by Indian financiers, that any government could conduct the affairs of the presidencies and bring them to a successful issue, without large funds, which as they could not be obtained from the resources of British India, had necessarily to be sought for in England. The disinclination of the Company to raise money by a European loan, of course added to the difficulties of its servants in India, until at length, it was confidently asserted that unless assistance was obtained from Europe, the government must come to a dead lock. "We are not now," said one of the most influential of the European community at Calcutta, "living in the times of Ochterlony and Malcolm, when the native army trusted so implicitly to British honour, that they sub-

mitted to be kept twelve, and, in some instances, twenty months in arrears without a murmur. The prestige of the British government has been sadly shaken, and it will only be by the most prompt and energetic measures, and by the speediest and severest justice, that we shall return once more to those days when, to be an Englishman in India, was to be respected and honoured, instead of to be hunted down and reviled."

The gross debt of the Anglo Indian government, at the commencement of 1857, amounted to £62,095,175—equal to three times the ordinary revenue of the country, and involving an annual net charge of £2,924,577 for interest. To meet the actual cost of government, taxation had been already strained to the utmost possibility of tension, and every shilling that could be wrung from the people, by the ingenuity of the tax collector, was grasped for the exigencies of the state. By the close of the year the liabilities of the Company's government had increased to an enormous amount, while the resources, from which they should have been met, were by the same time frightfully diminished.

It was calculated that the increased charges upon revenue, arising from the rebellion, would amount, for the year 1857, to six millions sterling, and that including the losses by plunder of the public treasures, the destruction of public property, and the non-collection of revenue, the deficit for the year would amount to between ten and fifteen millions of pounds, to meet which it was believed there were no other resources available than a heavy loan in the English market, or a vastly increased and oppressive system of taxation over a country already impoverished and fainting under the struggle to which it had been exposed and the inexorable grasp of the tax gatherer. That under such circumstances the administration of Lord Canning should become unpopular, was but a natural consequence of his position, and of the tremendous responsibilities that had suddenly devolved upon himself and his colleagues.

In the midst of the difficulty thus created, a scheme was at length devised by which it might be overcome, and the incubus of hopeless debt be removed from the shoulders of the government. The main source of revenue in India being derived from the land tax, and it being notorious that in such provinces as were exposed to an excessive

or even fluctuating scale of the impost, great distress prevailed, from lands going out of culture, or perpetually changing hands, as one tenant after another was sold-up to pay the balances due to government, while among the opulent owners scarcely any would invest money in improvements which would be sure to bring with them a proportionate increase in the government demand—the consequence of this very natural disinclination to expend money upon the land was, that funds which, under a different state of things, would be spent in works of irrigation, or other beneficial enterprise, were hoarded, invested in personal ornaments, or squandered on marriage festivals and pilgrimages. A system of settlements for long terms of years had already been substituted in many places for yearly renewals of revenue bonds, but, after the expiration of thirty years, the door was again opened for fresh and increased demands, and none could be assured what those might be, since, in all the fiscal machinery of government, there existed an abundance of venious interference and extortion on the part of its subordinate officers.

To counteract the growing evil, Mr. George Norton proposed a scheme for the gradual extinction of it by the progressive redemption of the land tax throughout India, and by suffering the ryots to become holders of land in fee simple. He estimated the land revenue of India at twenty millions, which, at twenty years' purchase, would be worth four hundred millions—a sum that would enable government to pay the expenses of the war, clear off the Indian debt, and invest money in improvements so advantageously as to maintain the revenue at its then amount, until the reclaimed jungle lands could supply all that was at present raised. He assumed that the landholders who would thus become owners of the soil, would be inalienably attached to a government under which their rights would be safe, and that they would naturally be averse to a change of rulers, by which their freeholds might be endangered. The projector of this scheme admitted that it would take a number of years, perhaps a century, to carry out his measure, but he contended that at least four millions a-year might at once be raised, and that, in the meantime, a revised scale of taxation could be introduced, so as to prevent the possibility of loss to government.

Taking for granted that the scheme would

be favourably appreciated by the ryots, its practicability then became a question, since it was far from certain that, as a class, they would be able to avail themselves of it by the requisite purchases. It, however, carried upon the face of it a degree of feasibility, and, as a similar experiment had been in operation in Ceylon, from the year 1813, with beneficial results to all parties—a vast extent of land having been altogether enfranchised, and other portions, from paying one-half of their yearly produce, had had their burdens reduced to one tenth of the original amount—the plan of Mr. Norton was not thought inapplicable to the then existing exigencies of the Indian government.

Among other sources of personal anxiety that exercised a depressing influence on the councils of the governor general towards the end of the year, the policy that had been adopted in reference to the ex king of Oude by the Indian government, was not one of the least embarrassing. That personage had now, for some months, been detained a state prisoner in Fort William,\* and, as yet, was ignorant of the actual charge upon which he had been deprived of his liberty, and of the indulgence pertaining to his rank as sovereign. His mother and immediate friends were in England, seeking, at the foot of the throne, for the restoration of his kingdom, and the recognition of his rights. Whatever suspicion might have existed of his complicity in the designs of the mutinous armies of Bengal and of Oude, five months had now elapsed without any definite charge against him, personally, and it was not unreasonable that he should become impatient of the restraint to which he was subjected. Under this feeling, the ex king, in November, 1837, petitioned the governor general in council, that he might be apprised of the nature of the offence alleged to have been committed by him, and that the probable limit of his captivity might be defined. Either from a difficulty in framing a charge against the captive monarch, or from a certainty of the impracticability of substantiating one if made, no official reply was vouchsafed to the application, but his majesty was curtly informed, that "he would know all about the affair in a very little time." How far this treatment might accord with a sense of justice towards a state prisoner, was, doubtless, for the con-

\* See vol. i., p. 536.

sideration of the authorities by whom the arrest had been deemed justifiable, but, taking an English view of the transaction, it certainly did not agree with our notions of equity, to arbitrarily place on individual in confinement for an unlimited period, and refuse to enlighten him as to the charges he might be called upon to answer. To any man, the loss of liberty would be doubly irksome under such circumstances, and it might be imagined that, in the case of one who had from his birth been surrounded by the pomp and indulgences of sovereignty, such a privation would be intensely irksome. The sins of a race were, however, to be expiated in his person, and Wajid Ali Shah, ex-king of Oude, separated from his family and adherents, remained a captive in the hands of those who had overturned his throne, and wrenched the sceptre from his feeble grasp.

The odium attached to the administration of Lord Canning, again became sensibly increased by the introduction of an act to the legislative council, for regulating the possession of arms, which received the assent of the governor general in October, 1857, and met with the universal disapprobation of the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, who embodied their objections to the measure in the following memorial to the governor general in council—

The respectful petition of the undersigned Christian inhabitants of Calcutta on behalf of themselves and of all the other Christian inhabitants of this presidency, sheweth—That your petitioners have read the act which passed the legislative council on the 5th of September and received the assent of the governor general on the 12th instant and have observed with alarm and regret, that the said act is framed so as to apply to all the unofficial classes alike without distinction on within the districts to which it shall be extended, by order of the governor general in council or of the executive government of any place. The object and justification of such an act being as your petitioners conceive to enable the government to take arms out of the hands of disaffected and dangerous persons your petitioners had hoped that the said act would have been confined in express terms to those classes from whom alone danger could be apprehended.

"Your petitioners feel strongly that to apply the act to them equally with the rest of India is to confound the loyal with murderers, mutineers and rebels and to cast an unwarranted reflection on a body who having the same interest with the government of India have in every way supported it and exhibited their loyal feeling since the commencement of the present outbreak.

"Your petitioners are further of opinion, that to give the proposed power to a magistrate or commission as one of police of disarming all persons within his district who in his judgment, may endanger the public peace, is to give to one official who may be

acting under the influence of panic, prejudice, or error, the power to leave all Christians within his district wholly defenceless or to force them into opposition to government if they shall resist being placed in such a position, and your petitioners are led strongly by certain recent proceedings in this town of Calcutta, to the conviction that this is no idle or speculative apprehension, and that such powers cannot be safely entrusted to all officials of the proposed classes.

"Your petitioners believe that the only result of extending such an act to the Christian population of India, will be to oppress and irritate the loyal, while it will be wholly ineffectual as regards the disaffected who will neither register or expose their arms till the moment for using them shall have arrived.

"Your petitioners submit that the Christian inhabitants of this presidency are entitled of right, as loyal men between whom and the rest of the population of the presidency there is a broad and unmistakable line drawn, to have that distinction acknowledged by the government at this time, and in the like manner as was done with regard to Europeans at the disarming of the Punjab to be exempted from the operation of a law which is wholly inapplicable, and therefore highly offensive to them.

Your petitioners therefore respectfully pray that the governor general in council would be pleased to make a declaration on such as is contemplated by the exemption clauses of the said act for the exemption of all Christian inhabitants of this presidency from the application of the said law.

"And your petitioners, &c."

This appeal was acknowledged in due course by the secretary to the government of India, who, on the 15th of October, informed the petitioners, that "the governor general was unable to comply with the prayer of the petition," but, at the same time, he was directed to state, that all exemptions which might be just and reasonable, would be made by the local governments, wherever the act, or any part of it, should be put in execution. The reply then proceeded as follows—

"The governor general in council cordially appreciates the loyal feelings of the petitioners and of those in whose name they speak as also the support which they have given to the government but he cannot admit that the fact of the Arms Act being general in its terms is any reflection upon the body.

"The governor general in council does not share in the apprehension of the petitioners that any powers which under the act may be entrusted to magistrates or to the commissioner of police will be abused in the manner supposed by them.

Neither does his lordship in council agree in viewing the case of the Punjab as parallel to that of Bengal. The Punjab when the disarming took place was a newly conquered country peopled with a hostile race, and it was reasonable to draw a broad line of demarcation between its whole native population and all Europeans who might become resident there. In Bengal on the contrary a large portion of the population is loyal and well-affected



to the British government and many have given proofs of this by exercising influence and risking property and life in support of the government.

"If then the law should undertake to lay down a line of distinction and should class these men with those who are not to be trusted, it would do a great injustice. If, on the contrary, it draws no distinction, but leaves all exemptions to be made according to circumstances by the government which administers the law, no such injustice is committed and it appears to the governor general in council scarcely possible that any Englishman, or any Christian viewing the case dispassionately, should find offence to himself in such law. Most assuredly no such offence is intended, and the governor general in council has directed me to furnish this explanation to the petitioners in proof that such is the case.

This effort to conciliate where only an imaginary wrong existed, failed of course, and a current of public opinion adverse to government, ran for a time, with increased virulence, through the capital of British India.

On the 20th of October, the Calcutta volunteer guard, consisting of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, and numbering, together, about 900 men, were presented with colours and standards by Viscountess Canning, at the request of the governor general, who sought, by this mark of attention to those of the inhabitants of the city who had stepped forward at a moment of supposed danger, to soften, in some degree, the prejudice that existed against himself and every act of his administration. The military display upon the occasion was imposing and effective. Her ladyship arrived on the ground on horseback, at 5 P.M., accompanied by the governor general, the commander in chief, and Generals Wyndham and Beatson, with a numerous and brilliant staff. A guard of honour had previously been dispatched to government house to receive the colours, and escort them to the ground, where they remained furled until the arrival of the official cortege, preceded by the viscountess, who rode along the line of troops, and took a position in front. Meanwhile orders were given to close the ranks, and form three sides of a square, on the artillery and right wing of the infantry—the colours still remaining closed, and resting upon drums, about forty paces in front of the centre of the line. After a brief interval, Lady Canning and the staff moved forward to the spot where the colours were deposited, the guards of cavalry and infantry, as escorts, also moved forward, accompanied by the ensigns and colour-sergeants, who took post in rear of the

colours, the cavalry escort being on the right, and the infantry on the left of them. Her ladyship then, with much grace, went through the ceremony of presenting the colours to the ensigns and cornets, who knelt to receive the honourable charge from her hands. Her address to the troops was as follows—

"Calcutta Volunteers—I have great pleasure in presenting you these colours.

"The readiness with which you came forward at a time of trouble and anxiety, and sacrificed your leisure, your ease, and the comforts of your homes on behalf of the safety of the public and the zeal with which you have applied yourselves to the study and discharge of your self imposed duties assure me that these British colours will be confided to trust worthy hands.

"Take them and remember that it behoves you to guard and defend them zealously, and by ready attention to your duties by strict and unhesitating obedience to your commanding officers and by cheerful submission to discipline to raise and sustain the character of your corps, and keep unsullied the honour of your colours."

At the conclusion of this address, Major Turnbull, the commandant of the volunteer corps, stepped forward, and replied thus—

"Lady Canning—In the name of the volunteers I have to thank you for the honour you have conferred on us in presenting these colours an honour fully appreciated by every member of the Calcutta volunteer guards.

Although the tide of events has turned favourably, so that in all probability the volunteers may never be called upon for active service, yet should they ever be, judging from the high tone and soldierly bearing pervading all ranks I am convinced that they are not only ready, but capable and willing, to do good service.

"I very encouragement has been afforded to the volunteers by the governor general graciously acceding to the requests that I have been made for their improvement. We are now favoured with an additional and lasting one by these colours being presented by your ladyship which confided to their care the volunteers will defend to the last, on all occasions with true devotion and loyalty. Again I beg to repeat our thanks in the name of the Calcutta volunteer guards."

From 20,000 to 25,000 persons, including all the *élite* of the city, were present at the ceremonial, which had the effect, for a short time, of allaying the irritation that prevailed in the pressence, and the demand for the recall of the governor general gradually began to lose much of its force and acrimonious tone.

As a specimen of the disposition to censure, and censure, every act of Lord Canning during the latter part of the summer of 1857, the following extract from a letter written in Calcutta may be adduced. "The

writer says—"Since I wrote you last, our affairs are getting in a bad state indeed, the rebellion is extending, and coming by inches nearer Calcutta, where I cannot any longer say we are secure. The imbecility of our government has so emboldened the natives, that openly, and without attempt at concealment, all sorts of things are plotting. An immense concourse of blackguards of all sorts has assembled in the town. The police magistrates coolly say there is no law which empowers them to deal with such people, and the legislative council declare the law to be quite sufficient for all our wants. Clever, sharp natives who are caught planning and sketching the fort, counting and measuring the guns, even taking their bearings from various points, if brought before a magistrate cannot be punished, but must be admonished and let go. In Fort William, all sorts of vagabonds are allowed to wander about, endeavouring to open communication with the king of Oude. Lord Canning does not like severity, nor does he like to do anything he should do, unless driven to it, thus he has been implored to proclaim martial law, because all Calcutta and the country around has been for some time openly disaffected, and of course he refuses. Man after man is brought to him, discovered in some treasonable correspondence, he is only to be reprimanded. His own private moonshoe was to have stabbed him after breakfast one fine morning, and gets a severe reproof, but neither flogging nor hanging. Two men were caught in the act of hauling down the colours in Fort William, and hoisting the green flag of the holy prophet, this was to have been the signal for 13,000 nice young men to make a dash at the fort. Nothing but fears of a mutiny among the European troops, wrung from Lord Canning, the order for their execution, which was done this blessed morning. We have (D.G.) escaped one very dangerous period—the Mohammedan festival of the Buckre Eed—but the Mohurram is approaching, it lasts ten entire days, and such unusual masses of people are flocking here, I feel certain we must have not simply a row, but a fight for our very lives, and God alone knows how we shall get out of it. Already there is a talk of sending every woman and child aboard ship. But as for any useful measures of preparation, our authorities do not dream of them. Our militia was a measure forced down Lord Canning's throat, but government have

thrown every discouragement they could in its way. The wealth and respectability of the community have formed a fine body of cavalry. The poorer class, after undergoing all sorts of snubbing as infantry, have got only some 550 bayonets left, the other 900 odd having resigned. Government now would most gladly coax us back and make much of us, but it is too late, we will fight for our own houses and neighbourhoods—not for them. As for turning out some 3,000 men fit to bear arms, that is not to be thought of—it would be far too energetic a measure."

Again, a letter of the 24th of September, says—"It is more than ninety days since the first of the transports for India left Portsmouth with troops for our protection, but they may as well have the benefit of the sea air a little longer, for nothing is ready for them here (Calcutta). The same incapacity, the same 'red-tape' imbecility that killed our soldiers in the Crimea, are rampant here. Thus, although these troops have been sighed for and expected these last two months—though every English soldier who can be added to the force in the field is equal to one hundred of the enemy, and though our poor beleaguered countrymen, in many places, are hourly praying for help, 2,000 of our noble soldiers—fusiliers and highlanders—are kept kicking their heels for days on board transports or in the fort, because there are no means ready for conveying them up the country, and those that are detained on board the transports, are kept there because there are no quarters ready for them on shore. The authorities well know, that a ship crowded with men, moored by the bank of a river in September (the worst month of the year), is about the best encouragement to cholera that can be devised. They know it so well, that, out of the crew of H.M.S. *Sanspareil*, they have sent 400 men into the fort. But highlanders and fusiliers, who come out to save India, our women and children from torture and death, are better on board ship, with malaria around them, than in wholesome quarters, or on the river on their way to the rescue. Sometimes English soldiers in Calcutta are forgotten altogether. Witness the case of the detachment of her majesty's 53rd foot, stationed at the Normal school during the Mohurram, who were kept literally forty eight hours without food. If English soldiers are thus forgotten when there are so few, what, in the name of good

ness, will be the result when the reinforcements come pouring in, and are detained here? And now another difficulty has arisen in reference to these troops, and simply because (really it is the case) there is no one here connected with this government who knows his business. When H.M.S. *Belle Isle* was at Sandheads, the *Underwriter*, an American stern-tug, ran down to her to take her in tow, and demanded 2,500 rupees (£250). This sum was refused, and the *Underwriter* would not tow the ship to Calcutta for less, and steamed away from her. Now be it remarked, that the price demanded was the ruling price paid by large merchant vessels. But because the *Underwriter* refused to tow the *Belle Isle* to Calcutta for less, the marine authorities have, in consequence, interdicted all their pilots from bringing in any vessel towed in by the *Underwriter*. The consequence is, that, as every ship must have a government pilot on board, the *Underwriter's* occupation is gone. The American merchants in Calcutta are in such a state of excitement, that they have caused the English owners of steam tugs to take the matter up, and I understand that the latter have given directions to the commanders of all their tugs, not to take any government vessel in tow, or any vessel having government troops on board. Thus the government interests, the public interests, must suffer from the imbecility of the marine authorities."

A letter from Bombay expresses the views entertained by the European community of that presidency, in the following strain:—

"The fatuity and blindness of the government officials continue to the present day, and they have, mail after mail, it is now discovered, been wilfully misleading the queen's ministers as to the real state of affairs in India. I fancy we have seen the last of the East India Company, and it is time. Excess and abuse of patronage—almost every member of the Company's service being nearly related to the directors, who promote according to stupidity, incapacity, and nearness of relationship, whenever the latter is combined with the former—maladministration of India, and misgovernment, will about sound their dying knell, and time it should. Last March, several fakirs (or religious mendicants), tattooed and besmeared were observed to be travelling all over Bengal and the north west on elephants, which excited

general remark from every one but the government officials. They allowed these men to pass unquestioned, and it now turns out that they were the king of Delhi's sons and nephews, calling for the ebullient cakes, and settling arrangements for the mutiny \* \* \*. The government is very anxious to tide over, if possible, the next four or five months without exhibiting their want of resources, and with this view, all public works' expenditure in every quarter has been stopped, while, in many districts, officers are kept in arrear of pay for three or four months. That a loan to a large amount, here or at home, must be resorted to before long, on terms such as to induce subscribers, is the very general impression, and if the money required for Indian purposes were to be borrowed in England, it is probable that government securities here will be beneficially influenced by it. The native hoarders of gold and silver are gradually showing their confidence in our supremacy, by reselling the gold at 16s, which they purchased some time ago, when things looked gloomy, at 17s per sicca weight—a result to which the British bayonets which have been landing on the banks of the Hooghly during the past month, may have possibly contributed."

In November, a bill was introduced into the legislative council, for the purpose of enabling the government to order delinquent sepoys to be branded with the letters M, for mutiny, and D for desertion, in the same way that European soldiers were liable to those ignominious marks. The punishment had not hitherto been inflicted in the native army, from deference to the high caste prejudices of the men of which it was chiefly composed. About the same time, a ship of war was dispatched to the Andaman Islands, for the purpose of surveying and selecting a site for a penal settlement, to which the defeated mutineers and rebels might be dispatched, with assurance of the impossibility of escape. On the 9th of December, a grand review of the British force at Calcutta and adjacent stations, which then amounted to about 8,000 men, was held by the commander in chief, in the presence of the governor general, who had announced his intention to remove the seat of government for a short time to Allahabad, for the greater facility of communication with the commander in chief, and superintending the general movements

of the army The commander-in-chief, as we have before mentioned, also left Calcutta to take the command of the army in the field, having, by this time, perfectly matured all his arrangements for the campaign, and for facilitating the transmission of troops as they should arrive from England, to the various points at which their services were required in the prosecution of the war

Previous, however, to the departure of Lord Canning for a temporary sojourn in the Upper Province of Bengal, the following explanation of the policy and conduct of his government, which had been so vehemently assailed, was forwarded to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, by the governor-general and his colleagues in council —

"Fort William Dec. 11th, 1857 — (No 144 — Public)

"It appears that very considerable misapprehension prevails as to the measures which have been taken for the punishment of those who have been guilty of mutiny, desertion and rebellion, during the recent disturbances in India, and as to certain instructions which have been issued for the guidance of civil officers charged with carrying out these measures, and vested with extraordinary powers for the purpose. Therefore, although our proceedings have been regularly reported to your honourable court, and have as yet been honoured with your entire approval, we deem it right specially and briefly to recapitulate them, in order that the policy of the government of India may not be misunderstood, and that mistaken representations regarding it may be corrected.

"In the first place, it has been made a matter of complaint against the government of India that the country was not put under martial law after the occurrence of the mutinies

"The reply to this is, that the country was put under martial law wherever it was necessary, and as soon as it could answer any good purpose to do so

"Martial law was proclaimed by the lieutenant governor of the North Western Provinces, as the mutiny broke out, in the Delhi, Meerut, Rohilkund, and Agra divisions, and in the districts of Ajmere and Neemuch

"It was proclaimed by the government of India in the Allahabad and Benares divisions on the 9th of June, 1857, as soon as the mutiny at Benares and Allahabad and its consequences, became known

"It was proclaimed by the lieutenant governor of Bengal in the Patna and Chota Nagpore divisions of the Lower Provinces, immediately after the mutiny of the Dinapore regiments and the Ramgurun battalion occurred

"Last it should be supposed by any, that in thus dealing with the country by divisions and districts

a hesitating and uncertain policy was pursued, it may be added, that of the above-named tracts of country, the smallest is equal to any English county, and the largest is as large as Ireland

"In the Punjab and Oude (non regulation provinces) there was no need to proclaim martial law. The authorities acted as if it had been proclaimed

"But, in truth, measures of a far more stringent and effective character than the establishment of martial law, were taken for the suppression of mutiny and rebellion

"Martial law, in the ordinary acceptance of the phrase, is no law at all, or, as it has been described, the will of the general. But martial law in India is proclaimed under special regulations applicable only to the regulation provinces in the three presidencies whereby the government is empowered to suspend, either wholly or partially, the functions of the ordinary criminal courts, to establish martial law, and also to direct the immediate trial, by courts-martial, of all subjects who are taken—(1) in arms in open hostility to the British government or (2) in the act of opposing, by force of arms, the authority of the same, or (3) in the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion against the state, or (4) in the act of openly aiding and abetting the enemies of the British government.

"Neither the effect of martial law, nor the mode in which courts martial are to be constituted under the regulation, has ever been defined. But it seems clear that courts martial cannot be composed of any but military officers, for there is nothing in the regulation so abhor that courts martial, as therein described can be otherwise constituted

"Moreover it should be borne in mind, that in Bengal beyond the limits of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court there was no regulation which provided for the punishment of treason or rebellion, and that the Mohammedan law, which in the absence of express regulation constitutes the criminal law of the country does not provide any specific punishment for such crimes. Regulation X, of 1801 rendered a person guilty of treason or rebellion, liable to the punishment of death only in the event of his conviction before a court martial, and even a court martial under that regulation had no power to try for treason or rebellion, unless the offender was taken in arms in open hostility to the British government, or in the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the same or in the actual commission of an overt act of rebellion

"The power of trial by court-martial did not extend to persons guilty of rebellion unless taken in the actual commission of an overt act.

"Under these circumstances the government might have been much embarrassed had Indian martial law alone been relied upon; and seeing that the number of military officers at the disposal of the government, was in many parts of the country wholly insufficient for the summary trial of mutineers and rebels the government of India took a course much more effectual than the establishment of martial law. Having first by Act No VIII, of 1857, strengthened the hands of officers by giving them greater powers for the assembling of courts martial and by making the proceedings of those courts more summary the government adopted measures which should give them the services not only of their own military and civil officers, but of independent English gentlemen not connected with the East India Company—indigo planters, and other persons of

\* 18th and 25th of May

† 16th of May and 1st of June ‡ 28th of May

§ 27th of May 4th and 12th of June

|| 12th of June ¶ 30th of June

•• 10th of August.

intelligence and influence. These measures were as follows:—

On the 30th of May, when it was known that the mutiny of the sepoys had been followed in many places by rebellion of the populace, Act No. XI, of 1857, was passed. By this law persons guilty of rebellion, or of waging war against the queen or the government, or of aiding and abetting therein, were rendered liable to the punishment of death, and to the forfeiture of all their property, and the crime of harbouring rebels, &c., was made heavily punishable, the supreme and local executive governments were empowered to issue a commission in any district in a state of rebellion, for the trial of rebels or persons charged with any other crime against the state, or with any heinous crime against person or property; the commissioners were empowered to act singly, and were vested with absolute and final powers of judgment and execution, without the presence of law officers or assessors, and, finally, the possession of arms in any district in which it might be prohibited by the executive government, was made penal.

By Act No. XIV of 1857, passed on the 6th June, provision was made for the punishment of persons convicted of exciting mutiny or sedition in the army, the offender was rendered liable to the punishment of death, and the forfeiture of all his property, and persons guilty of harbouring such offenders, were made liable to heavy punishment. Power was also given to general courts martial, to try all persons, whether amenable to the articles of war or not, charged with any offence punishable by this or the preceding act, and the supreme and local executive governments were authorised to issue commissions in any district for the trial, by single commissioners, without the assistance of law officers or assessors, and with absolute and final power of judgment and execution of any crime against the state, or any heinous offence whatever, the term 'heinous offence' being declared to include every crime attended with great personal violence, or committed with the intention of forwarding the designs of those who are waging war against the state.

By Act No. XVI of 1857, all heinous offences committed in any district under martial law, or in any district to which this act might be extended, were made punishable by death, transportation, or imprisonment, and by forfeiture of all property and effects.

These enormous powers have been largely exercised. They have been entrusted not to military officers only, but to civil officers and trustworthy persons not connected with the government who under martial law properly so called, would have had no authority, and the law has thereby been put in force in parts of the country where there were few troops, and no officers to spare for such purpose.

In all the three above mentioned acts Nos. XI, XIV, and XVI, European British subjects are expressly exempted from their operation.

By Act No. XVII, of 1857, power was given to sessions judges, and to any person or persons, civil or military, to whom the executive government might issue a commission for the purpose, to try for mutiny or desertion any person subject to the articles of war for the native army, with final powers of judgment and execution. Police officers were empowered to arrest, without warrant, persons suspected of being mutineers and deserters; and remain-

ders and others were made penally responsible for giving early intelligence of persons suspected of mutiny or desertion resorting to their estates.

Lastly, by Act No. XXV, of 1857, the property and effects of all persons amenable to the articles of war for the native army, guilty of mutiny, were declared forfeit, and stringent means were provided for the seizure of such property or effects, and for the adjudication of forfeiture in all cases whether the guilty person be convicted, or whether he die or escape before trial.

Not only therefore is it not the case that martial law was not proclaimed in districts in which there was a necessity for it, but the measures taken for the arrest, summary trial, and punishment of heinous offenders of every class, civil as well as military, were far more widely spread and certainly not less stringent, than any that could have resulted from martial law.

To an application of certain inhabitants of Calcutta for the proclamation of martial law in that city and in the rest of Bengal, where notwithstanding the mutinous spirit of the native troops, not the smallest indication of disaffection on the part of the people had or has been manifested, an answer was given, setting forth at length the reasons which made the adoption of such a measure inexpedient.

It may be affirmed with confidence, that no one useful object would have been attained by the proclamation of martial law throughout India or in any part of India wherein it was not proclaimed, which has not been attained in a far more effectual way by special legislation adapted to the condition of a country throughout vast tracts of which military authority was altogether unrepresented and by the executive measures consequent thereupon; while the mere proclamation of martial law, without such special legislation, though it might have sounded more imposingly, would have cramped the action of government by debarring the government from the assistance of its civil officers in the suppression of mutiny and of the crimes which have accompanied it.

We now advert to the resolution of the 31st of July, containing directions to civil officers respecting the punishment of mutineers, deserters, and rebels, and the burning of villages.

It has been shown that, before this resolution was passed, civilians had been authorised to try for mutiny and desertion (offences previously cognizable only by courts martial), and that enormous powers had been given by the legislature for the punishment of the crimes of rebellion, mutiny, and desertion, and others of less degree, to such individual civil officers as might be appointed special commissioners by government, or to such other officers as the government should invest with the power of issuing commissions; and gentlemen, both in and out of the regular service of government, had been appointed special commissioners under the acts. The appointment of special commissioners might have been restricted to the governor general in council or to the executive governments, had there not been any interruption to the free communication between the governments and their principal civil officers in the districts; but when communication was cut off the working of the acts would have been very much impeded if a special commissioner could not be appointed except by government. It was therefore considered necessary in many cases while the power of communicating existed, and before the telegraph wires were cut, to invest the

principal officers, such as the chief commissioners, the commissioner of Nagpore, commissioners of districts, &c., with the power of appointing special commissioners under the acts.

"It afterwards came to the knowledge of the government, both officially and through private channels, that in some instances the powers given to special commissioners were being abused, or at least used without proper discretion, and that capital punishment was inflicted for trivial offences committed during a period of anarchy, and on evidence which under ordinary circumstances, would not have been received; and that in some quarters the fact of a man being a sepoy was enough, in the state of excited feeling which then prevailed, to insure his apprehension and immediate execution as a deserter.

"There were then many native officers and soldiers of the Bengal army, who, though absent from their regiments were wholly innocent of the crime of desertion, and some who, so far from being guilty of mutiny, had used their best endeavours to prevent it, saving the lives of their European officers at the risk of their own.

"To punish these men indiscriminately with death, as deserters or mutineers, would have been a crime. To prevent their punishment was an imperative duty of the government.

"The instructions in question were issued for the guidance of civil not military officers, and were of necessity in force only where civil power was exercised. They prescribed discrimination between the guilty and those who might reasonably be supposed to be innocent. They sanctioned no lenity to the guilty. They gave to the civil authorities no power of finally releasing even the innocent. They do not exempt mutineer or deserter, or in fact, any officer or soldier from trial by court martial but as regards military offenders, they lay down rules for the guidance of civilians in the exercise of the powers newly vested in them by Act XVII of 1857, by which cognizance was for the first time given to them of offences of a purely military character.

"First, in regard to men belonging to regiments which have not mutined the civil authorities were directed to punish as deserters those only who were found with arms in their hands. If guilty of rebellion they could be punished as rebels apart from their military character, but if charged with or suspected of desertion alone, and not found with arms in their possession, they were to be sent back to their regiments or detained in prison pending the orders of the government. If sent back to their regiments they would of course be dealt with by the military authorities according to their guilt or innocence.

"Second, in regard to men belonging to regiments which have mutined, but which have not killed their officers or committed any other sanguinary crime or whose regiments cannot be ascertained, the civil officers were directed to punish as mutineers only those who were found with arms in their possession, or who were charged with a specific act of rebellion, or whom for special reasons it might be necessary to punish forthwith. All others were to be sent to Allahabad, or to such other place as the government might order, to be dealt with by the military authorities.

"Third in regard to men belonging to regiments which have mutined and killed any European or committed any other sanguinary outrage, the civil

authorities were directed to try and sentence as mutineers all such persons, and to punish forthwith all who could not show either that they were not present at the murder or other outrage, or that, if present, they did their utmost to prevent it. These exceptional cases were to be reported to the government.

"It has not been found that these orders are difficult of execution, or that they have tended in the least degree to weaken the hands of the civil power in dealing with those who have been really guilty of mutiny or desertion, to say nothing of graver crimes. If they have saved innocent men from unjust punishment, their object has been so far attained. Upon the action of courts martial or upon the proceedings of any military authority whatsoever, they neither were intended to have, nor have they had any restrictive effect. Their tendency, on the contrary, so far as military tribunals are concerned, is to extend the jurisdiction of those tribunals and to transfer to them cases which in ordinary course would have been dealt with by civil officers. They impose no labour upon the European troops, the transport of the arrested men to Allahabad or other military stations being assigned to the police or local guards.

"In regard to the treatment of rebels not being mutineers, we warned the civil authorities to whom the power of life and death had been intrusted that though it is 'unquestionably necessary in the first attempt to restore order in a district in which the civil authority had been entirely overthrown to administer the law with such promptitude and severity as will strike terror into the minds of the evil disposed among the people and will induce them by the fear of death to abstain from plunder to restore stolen property, and to return to peaceful occupation' yet, when this object was once in a great degree attained, that 'the punishment of crimes should be regulated with discrimination' and in the tenth paragraph, after pointing out the difficulties that would probably be caused by the administration of the law in its extreme severity after the requisite impression had been made upon the rebellious and disorderly, and after order had been partially restored, we desired the civil authorities to encourage all persons to return to their occupations postponing all minute inquiry into past political offences but punishing the principal offenders and making examples of those who after the partial restoration of order might be guilty of serious outrages or of promoting the designs of the rebels.

"We cannot believe that these instructions need defence. They are addressed only to civil authorities to men who scattered far and wide through the country are wielded terrible powers but powers which in the actual condition of India we have not hesitated to confer. It is not conceivable that they should have imperilled the action of a single soldier. Wherever troops have been available for the purpose they have been employed without any practical restriction on their acts but the humanity and discretion of their commanding officers. In such cases when forcible resistance has been met with quarter has been rarely given and prisoners whether tried on the spot by the officer in command or made over to the civil power have been punished immediately with extreme but just and necessary severity. If in such a lamentable condition of affairs errors have been committed, it is assuredly not on the side of undue leniency.

"Lastly, as regards the burning of villages, our instructions—still be it remembered, only to civil officers—were that, though a severe measure of this sort might be necessary as an example in some cases, where the mass of the inhabitants have committed a grave outrage, and the individual perpetrators can not be reached, anything like a wholesale or indiscriminate destruction of property, without due regard to the guilt or innocence of those affected by it, was to be strongly reprehended. Can there be a doubt of the justice of this order? To ourselves, not only the justice but the necessity of it was manifest from unofficial but perfectly trustworthy accounts which reached us of the proceedings of some of the authorities both in the Allahabad and Benares divisions shortly after the outbreak, and of the deserted state of the country within reach of the principal stations at the commencement of seed time for the autumn harvest. Its success is shown by the return of the villagers to their occupations and by the fact that even in the most disturbed districts the breadth of cultivation has not been very seriously diminished.

"On the whole, we may observe that the effect of the resolution as regards the native public in the Bengal presidency (the vast majority of whom have shown no sympathy with the rebellion) has been to allay, in a great measure, the apprehension of a general and indiscriminate war against Hindoos and Mussulmans guilty or not guilty, in revenge for the massacres of Delhi, Cawnpore and Jhansie which evil disposed persons have industriously raised—We have, &c.,

"CANNING, J DORNO  
"J LOW, B PEACOCK  
"CECIL BEADON, Secretary to the Government  
of India."

This important document was forwarded to the Court of Directors, with sundry enclosures, of which the following is a brief outline. The first was the "humble" petition of one Mr C Williams, and 252 other inhabitants of Calcutta and its suburbs, to the governor general, urging his excellency to proclaim martial law at once throughout the presidency of Bengal. Mr C Beadon, the secretary to the government of India, replied to this address on the 21st of August, 1857, declining to accede to the request to proclaim martial law, on the ground that such a measure would not in any way be useful or expedient, and that the substitution of military courts in Calcutta for the ordinary courts of judicature, would infallibly be accompanied with much private uncertainty, inconvenience, and hardship, without any commensurate advantage to the community. In Calcutta, the petitioners were reminded that there were troops enough for the protection of the city and its suburbs against any disturbance, and that in the divisions of Behar and Chota Nagpore (under a very different condition of things), martial law had already been proclaimed by the lieutenant-governor.

A copy of the resolution of the Indian government, dated the 31st of July, 1857, issuing detailed instructions for the guidance of civil officers in the treatment of mutineers, deserters, and rebels, with the view of preventing the hasty resort to measures of extreme severity, was also forwarded\*. By this, no native officer or soldier belonging to a regiment which had not mutinied was to be punished as a mere deserter, unless found or apprehended with arms in his possession. Such men were to be sent back to their regiments, to be dealt with by the military powers. Native officers and soldiers, being mutineers or deserters, taken by the civil power without arms in their hands, not charged with any specific act of rebellion, and belonging to regiments which had mutinied, but had not murdered their officers, or perpetrated any other sanguinary crime, were to be sent to Allahabad, and there made over to the commander, to be dealt with by the military power. Mutineers or deserters taken by the civil power, and found to belong to regiments which had killed European officers, or had committed other sanguinary crimes, might be tried and punished by the civil power. The minute continued thus—

"The governor-general in council is anxious to prevent measures of extreme severity being unnecessarily resorted to, or carried to excess, or applied without due discrimination, in regard to acts of rebellion committed by persons not mutineers.

"It is unquestionably necessary in the first attempt to restore order in a district in which the civil authority has been entirely overthrown, to administer the law with such promptitude and severity as will strike terror into the minds of the evil disposed among the people and will induce them, by the fear of death, to abstain from plunder, to restore stolen property and to return to peaceful occupations. But this object once to a great degree attained the punishment of crimes should be regulated with discrimination.

"The continued administration of the law in its utmost severity, after the requisite impression has been made upon the rebellious and disorderly, and after order has been partially restored would have the effect of exasperating the people and would probably induce them to band together in large numbers for the protection of their lives, and with a view to retaliation—a result much to be deprecated. It would greatly add to the difficulties of settling the country hereafter, if a spirit of animosity against their rulers were engendered in the minds of the people and if their feelings were embittered by the remembrance of needless bloodshed. The civil officers in every district should endeavour, without condoning any heinous offences or making any promises of pardon for such offences, to encourage all persons to return to their usual occupations, and,

punishing only such of the principal offenders as can be apprehended, to postpone as far as possible all minute inquiry into political offences, until such time as the government are in a position to deal with them in strength after thorough investigation. It may be necessary, however, even after a district is partially restored to order, to make examples from time to time of such persons, if any, who may be guilty of serious outrages against person or property, or who, by stopping the dawk, or injuring the electric telegraph, or otherwise, may endeavour to promote the designs of those who are waging war against the state."

In a despatch to the East India Company, of the 21th of December (No 151, also inclosed), Lord Canning (in council) gave explanations of his reasons for the issue of the above orders, beyond and apart from the despatch No 144. These reasons were to the effect, that great and excessive severity had been exercised in the punishment of persons supposed to be inculpated in the mutiny, to the exasperation of large communities not otherwise hostile to the government. The despatch proceeds—

"If we had refrained from taking measures to this end (the checking of undue severity)—if we had allowed the spirit of bitterness and hatred which was rapidly rising up and laying fast hold of the minds of men of every class and race, to develop itself unchecked—we should have miserably failed in our duty, and should have exposed ourselves to the charge of being nothing better than instruments of wild vengeance in the hands of an exasperated community."

"We have felt that we had a higher function to discharge."

"We have felt that neither the government of India, nor any government, can wisely punish in anger, that punishment so dealt may terrify and crush for a season, but that with time and returning calm the acts of authority are reviewed and that the government which has punished blindly and revengefully, will have lost its chief title to the respect of its subjects."

"We have felt that the course which the government of India may pursue at this crisis will mainly influence the feelings with which, in time to come the supremacy of England will be viewed, and the character of their rulers estimated, by many millions of the queen's subjects; we have therefore avoided to weaken by any impatience of deliberate justice the claim which England has established to the respect and attachment of the well affected natives of India."

"That numbers of these, of all classes, religions, and castes, have supported the government with true loyalty, is known to your honourable court. This loyalty it has been our study to confirm and encourage."

"That our motives should have been misunderstood and our acts misrepresented—that instructions issued for the guidance of civil officers in the performance of their duty should have been described as a restriction on the free action of the military authorities, to whom they were not addressed—is not surprising. But we look with confidence to the

time when, in a less excited condition of the public mind, and upon a calm view of the events which are now passing in India, the orders contained in our resolution of the 31st of July will be no longer misconstrued."

A series of reports from local authorities was also transmitted, with a long list of persons tried and punished under the acts of 1857, principally by hanging.

From these reports, it was manifest that the indiscriminate burning of villages had done much harm in India, and the practice was denounced in a letter (unofficial) from Allahabad, of the 6th of July, as "most suicidal and mischievous." Another letter, from the same place, of the 22nd of July, complained of "the dangers and difficulties created by lawless and reckless Europeans" there, and a third letter, also inclosed, dated "Benares, July 25th," says—

"The governor-general need not be afraid of our letting off mutineers. Our object is to pass over all the mutual plunderings of the village communities during the time of anarchy, and, now that matters are coming straight, and regular government is beginning to show its face over the troubled waters, to let bygones be bygones, wipe out all these 'dacoities,' as they might be termed, and induce all parties to return to their fields. In clear cases of plunder we are arranging for the restoration of stolen property, or its value, in short, we are acting as a sensible schoolmaster would act after a barring out, and trying to get our children into order again. There is really no vice in these Rytpoot communities, they were made to believe by the Mohammedans that it was all up with us, and each village began plundering on its own account, but as soon as regular government appeared, they sub-sided into their original position. I really believe that some of the very men who were ready to fight the Europeans, and, in fact, some of those who actually did stand against both Europeans and guns in our little battle here the other day, are now quite friendly, and willing to go and fight for government wherever desired. It would never do to have a servile war with our Hindoo peasantry."

A more triumphant refutation of the calumnies that had been showered upon the governor-general and his administration, could not have been placed upon record, than was contained in the first of the above documents. At the time it was dated, about a year had elapsed since the first discontent became



visable in the sepoy army, and the intervening period had been so completely filled with great ovoids, and the necessities of action had left so little time for calm inquiry, that no one could be justified in saying how far the Company, or the Board of Control, or the Indian military discipline, or the civil government at Calcutta, were or were not to blame for the mutiny, or for the unprepared state in which it found the government. As regards the Anglo-Indian government itself, the only test to be used was the fact of success—not immediate, sweeping, unresisted success, but fair success, such as boldness, energy, and prudence might be expected to obtain in the midst of unexampled difficulties. Tried by that standard, the Calcutta government might well claim to have done its duty efficiently, and that Lord Canning and his advisers had proved themselves to be successful administrators at a most momentous crisis. A few months previous to the date of this important state paper, all India was expected to rise in arms against the domination of England. From Delhi to Lucknow the country was in a flame, and Central India, with its multitude of little sovereignties, was almost entirely out of our hands, while, in England, the public were dreading to hear by every mail that the armies of Bombay and Madras were in revolt, and that the Punjab was again a hostile province in the hands of the Sikhs. But in December, 1857, these prospects, or rather these evil forebodings, had undergone a vast change, and the great Indian mutiny was transformed into a mere provincial insurrection, requiring, instead of a gigantic scheme of operations against an enemy dispersed over a million and a-half of square miles, the comparatively minor exertions called for by a war that seemed to have dwindled into a local campaign.

By some means or other, never thoroughly understood, a report had obtained currency through the London newspapers, that, after the departure of General Neill from Cannanore, in August, 1857, Mr J. P. Grant, who had been sent up by the governor general to fulfil the important functions of civil governor of the Central Provinces, had so far intermeddled with the retributory arrangements of the general, as to pardon and set at liberty upwards of a hundred of the rebels and mutineers of Cannanore, whom General Neill had previously selected for extreme punishment. At the time, the

popular cry throughout Europe was for justice, even to extermination, if necessary, and the rumour that such an interference as that charged upon Mr Grant had been permitted, or afterwards sanctioned, by the governor-general, added much to the unfavourable opinion that prevailed in many quarters, of his lordship's policy. At length the report assumed so tangible a shape, that it attracted the attention of Lord Canning's friends, who lost no time in referring to him for the actual facts upon which so serious a charge rested. A correspondence with Mr Grant naturally ensued, and the following official documents show his lordship's proceedings in the matter, and also contain an unqualified denial, as well as a complete refutation of the alleged imprudence, or even greater fault, said to have been committed by the lieutenant governor of the Central Provinces—

*Service Message from Mr Talbot, Private Secretary to the Governor general, to Lieutenant Colonel R. Strachey, Secretary to the Lieutenant governor of Benares, dated 19th December, 1857*

"The English newspapers received by the last mail, contain articles condemning the lieutenant governor for having pardoned and liberated 150 of the Cannanore mutineers and rebels, who had been seized by General Neill, and in some papers it is said that the lieutenant governor punished with death English soldiers who assaulted the mutineers."

"The governor general is well aware that nothing like this can have taken place, but he requests Mr Grant to write to him, stating whether there is any conceivable foundation, however slight, for such a story, and whether Mr Grant at any time saw reason to find fault with any of General Neill's measures."

"The governor general will be glad to receive Mr Grant's letter by the 24th instant, in order that the truth may be known in England as soon as possible."

*From the Hon J. P. Grant, Lieutenant governor of the Central Provinces, to the Right Hon Viscount Canning Governor general of India, dated Benares, 20th December, 1857*

"My dear Lord,—I am greatly obliged by your lordship's telegraphic message received to-day through Mr Talbot, mentioning that the English newspapers, just received, condemn me for having, as they allege, pardoned and liberated 150 of the Cannanore mutineers and rebels who had been seized by General Neill, and that in some papers it is said that I punished with death English soldiers who assaulted the mutineers. One story is not true, and the other could not possibly be true; but your lordship asks me to say in order that the truth may be known at home if there is any conceivable foundation, however slight, for such stories, and whether I at any time saw reason to find fault with General Neill's measures."

"There is no conceivable foundation, however slight, for either story. I have not pardoned a single person, or committed a single sentence, and I

have not released a single person, seized by General Neill or any one else, since I have been in these provinces. No case connected with any assault by European soldiers on mutineers, and no case of any similar nature, has come before me in any way whatsoever.

"I have never seen reason to find fault with any of General Neill's measures. As it has happened I have never had any relations, direct or indirect, official or unofficial, with General Neill or any concern of any sort with any act of his. I have never had any correspondence with or about General Neill, and I do not remember ever to have seen him. I am sure that in my private conversation I have never spoken of the character of this lamented officer but with the admiration of his noble, soldierly qualities, which I have always felt.

"I arrived here on the 28th of August, and General Neill left these provinces with Sir James Outram for Lucknow a few days afterwards. I am confident that no occurrences such as these stories describe, relative to released prisoners or condemned soldiers, happened at all within that period, and I never heard of any such occurrences having happened at any other time. For myself since I have been here, I have not had the slightest approach to a difference, I do not say with General Neill at Cawnpore but I say with any military officer in any such position as his anywhere. Neither I nor any one about me can guess what led to the fabrication of these stories.

"I will only add that the stories are in one sense badly invented, as they impute to me a tendency which all who have ever heard me speak on the subject know that I have not. I have the same feelings towards these perfidious murderers that other Englishmen have, and I am not chary of expressing them. No man is more strongly impressed with the necessity of executing, on this occasion, just as with the most extreme severity, than I am, and it is impossible that any one, who had the least reason for judging what my opinions are on this point, could have mistaken them.—Your lordships' very faithful servant,

(Signed) "J P GRANT"

*Minute by the Right Hon. the Governor general, dated 21th December 1857*

"I wish to place on official record the telegraphic message, and the private letter, which accompany this minute.

"On the arrival, four days ago, of the mail which left England on the 10th of November, I became aware, for the first time, of a report having been transmitted about three months ago from India to England, to the effect that the lieutenant governor of the Central Provinces had liberated 150 mutineers or rebels placed in confinement by Brigadier general Neill. I learnt that this story, sometimes with amplifications but always the same in the main, had not only been current in newspapers, and had created, as well it might create, a general feeling of indignation in England but that it was not altogether disbelieved even by persons generally well informed on Indian matters.

"I knew that nothing of the kind had happened, but I did not know that the story might not be traceable to some cause or source in fact, and I was at all events desirous of giving to one of the ablest servants of the government placed in a post of heavy responsibility, and who has been the mark

of malignant and unfounded attack, an opportunity of returning the speediest denial to the misrepresentations by which he has been assailed.

"The telegraph has enabled me to do this; and Mr Grant's answer will go to the Hon. Court of Directors by the mail of this day.

"I leave the question and the answer to speak for themselves.

"It is probable that the tale will have run its course and died away before this contradiction of it can reach England, but I think it important that the honourable court should be made aware how very cautiously the most positive and unhesitating assertions regarding passing events in India are to be received at the present time.

"It seldom happens that a false charge assumes so plain and categorical a shape, and one which can be so completely grappled with, as that which has been levelled against the lieutenant-governor of the Central Provinces.

(Signed) "CANNING—J DORIN—J Low"

It may be remembered, that in the month of August following the outbreak at Meerut, the British residents at Calcutta had presented a petition declaring their distrust of the existing precautions, and praying that martial law might be proclaimed at once. The refusal of the governor general to assent to this was a principal cause of the excessive violence with which he was subsequently assailed by the Calcutta public and the press. Lord Canning's explanation of the course he adopted in the despatch quoted, completely exonerated his administration from the charge of imbecile and unpardonable lenity, so often brought against it. His defence was, that he had established a power which acted far more summarily, vigorously, and effectively than courts martial could have done in so vast a country, where soldiers were few, and where martial law had always been considered as only applicable to the cases of rebels or enemies actually in arms. On the whole, the letter was looked upon as a substantial defence to the charges insisted upon against him, and it was at length considered that he who had exercised supreme power during the period of the outburst, was fairly entitled to credit for the success that had attended his efforts for the preservation of the Indian empire.

The progress of the ladies and children, and of the wounded soldiers of the garrison of Lucknow, from the scene of their suffering in Calcutta, was marked by a series of orations. Their departure from Lucknow and from Cawnpore has already been noticed, and the following extract from a communication dated "Allahabad, Dec 7th, 1857," marks the deep interest which their heroic endurance had excited at that

place also—"For the last two or three days, the brigadier and all his staff have been making the best arrangements they could for the accommodation of the ladies, women, and children expected from Lucknow. The brigadier selected our brigade-major to proceed yesterday by rail to Chemeo, to escort the ladies down, who were expected to arrive here at noon to-day. At that hour all the carriages in the place were assembled at the railway. About 2 P.M., a distant whistle announced the approach of the train, which was answered by a spontaneous shout of pent-up feeling from all assembled. The train arrived, and was received by such cheers as British soldiers and sailors only know how to give, that would have done your kind heart good to hear. When all were fairly out of the train, the fort adjutant cried out, 'One cheer more for our women, boys!' and I think it will be many a long year ere they forget the entire heartiness with which that cry was responded to."

It should be observed, that the line of carts and conveyances, of various sorts, which had brought the warfarers from Cawnpore to Allahabad (a distance of 113 miles), extended five miles in length, and when it is considered that the escort detached for its protection was limited to about 500 men only, and that a large body of insurgents was stationed in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore, while formidable parties hovered about the line of march for nearly the whole distance, the ultimate safe arrival of the convoy at Allahabad, may be looked upon as a special intervention of Divine Providence, which thus watched over the wounded and the most helpless of its people, and brought them, with grateful hearts, to a haven of safety.

A young officer of the rescued garrison, who had been severely wounded during the defence of Lucknow, in a letter dated from December 28th to January 5th, describes some incidents of the progress of the convoy towards Calcutta, as follows—

' Dinapore, Dec 28th

"I think my last letter was from Allahabad, giving you some account of our troubles on the way from Cawnpore, after the relief of Lucknow, and defeat of the enemy at the latter place by the commander in chief. On the whole, I think the journey, although a rough one has done me no harm. We found everything very comfortable, and every one most kind and attentive

to us on our arrival at Allahabad, and we remained there ten days. Lieutenant H—— and I intended going down country by dak, but the day we proposed to start, an order came up to stop any more officers travelling; in this way, we were obliged, therefore, to wait for the steamer, and, even on board, could not manage to get a cabin, rather than wait for one in the next, we took deck passages, and started on the 18th. As yet, we have only got so far on our voyage. We remained one day at Benares, and, while there, I took a walk through that famous city, reputed to be the wealthiest in India, and noted at present for being the hotbed of conspiracy and treason, at the same time assuming to be the most religious. I very third or fourth house is a Hindoo temple, or a mosque dedicated to some unknown god. It was very ridiculous to see the wretched natives prostrate themselves before their images of wood and stone, and place garlands around their necks. This is also a great emporium for Brahmin bulls—sacred animals in the eyes of the Hindoos. In the narrow streets, wheretwo persons can scarcely walk abreast, if you meet one of these bulls, you must give way. To attempt to strike the beast, or drive him before you, would immediately raise a mob, and you would run a good chance of being pelted out of the city, if not worse treated. Next to Benares we came to Ghazepore, and there learned that, about twelve miles down the river, the water was so shallow, that nine steamers had stuck fast in the mud, and were unable to proceed. We remained three days at Ghazepore, including Christmas day. Most of our people went out to dine, but I did not leave the steamer, I had a bad dinner, and felt very miserable. All the passengers, chiefly poor widows of officers, and orphans, were in black, not even a bottle of wine to be had worth drinking to absent friends. Notwithstanding the fate of the nine steamers, we started to make trial of the dangerous position, and, strange to say, after sticking fast and getting off again two or three times, we passed all the steamers, and got over the difficulty right gallantly. We reached Buxar last night, and hope to arrive at Dinapore this evening. No change has taken place in the character of my wound since I last wrote, either for better or worse. I fear it will be necessary to undergo an operation: there is a large piece of loose bone in the interior of the wound, and the

aperture has closed up so much, that it will be difficult for it to work its way out to the surface without surgical aid. We lost sixteen of the lilies of the garrison of Lucknow on board, and thirty children, there were nearly all the widows or orphans of officers who fell in the defence of that place, the greater number of these poor things are without a second pair of shoes or stockings or change of clothing of any kind.

"Dec 29th.—Here we are at Dinapore and intend going on again to-morrow morning. No news, except that the day before yesterday the troops here went out to Chupra, about fourteen miles off, licked the rebels most delightfully, and took four large guns. No loss on our side.

"Jan 5th.—I now write from Coo'ha. We have had a fair passage up to this time, considering the low water in the river, but we left the Ganges, I may say, two days ago, and are now in one of its small branches. I think three days will land us in Calcutta. I am now anxious to reach the end of our journey. My poor head has been constantly pained to get out that piece of bone, and also the musket ball, without effect till yesterday, when the refractory bit of skull was at last extracted. The leaden mark of the ball is evident on the flat surface. It was a great matter to get it out, but I am thankful to see the surgeon also discovered the ball, and hopes, in a few days, to remove it also. Then the wound will speedily heal up. But I must undergo an operation for this after I reach Calcutta."

At length the resented bird approached within sight of the capital of British India, and as the steamer *Madras* slowly glided along the bosom of the Hooghly with its honoured freight, the sympathies of the people who lined the banks and landing places of the river, found expression in joyous congratulations and fervent thrills giving. It will be remembered that in anticipation of the arrival of the Lucknow fugitives, Lord Canning had, a few days previous, issued a government notification announcing the event, and suggesting the most decorous mode of reception for individuals so painfully circumstanced as were many of the party.\* How well his lordship's thoughtful precautions were carried into effect, will be seen from the following extract from a communication dated "Calcutta January 10th, 1857"—

"On Friday, the 8th, at 5 P M., two guns

\* See ante p. 69

from the ramparts of Fort William announced that the *Madras* was passing Aclapore, and almost everybody that had horse or carriage rode down to Prinsep's Ghât, where it was anticipated the passengers would land. The *Madras* having, however, a heavy up country boat in tow, made, notwithstanding the tide in her favour, but slow progress, and, as it soon became evident that she could not come up ere the night set in, a telegraphic message was dispatched to the commander of the steamer to anchor below Garden reach, and to come up next morning. At six o'clock on Saturday morning, a crowd of people assembled at Prinsep's Ghât, but a dense fog delayed the arrival of the *Madras* and it was not until a quarter to eight that she could be sighted. A royal salute of twenty-one guns from the ramparts of Fort William announced her arrival and other salutes followed from the men of war in the river. All vessels in the river, with the exception of the American ships close to Prinsep's Ghât, were dressed out with all their flags and presented a very imposing sight. Along the steps from the ghât down to the water's edge was a sort of gangway, guarded by policemen and, along the whole, red carpeting was laid out, such as it is customary to use on state occasions. At last the *Madras* arrived off the ghât, but owing to some cause or other, considerable delay took place before the passengers could be landed, the public, in the meantime, looking on in stern silence as if afraid lest even now some accident might happen to those whose escape from the hands of a barbarous and bloodthirsty enemy was decreed by a merciful Providence. The whole scene partook of a solemnity rarely witnessed, and, indeed, the expression on the face of the bystanders betokened universal sympathy for those they were about to welcome to the hospitable City of Palaces. Mr. Belton, the secretary of the home department, on behalf of government, the Hon. — Talbot, private secretary to the governor general, on behalf of Lord Canning, and Dr. Leclerc, as secretary to the Relief Committee, went down to the water's edge to receive the ladies. A sudden rush towards the river, a thronging towards the gangway, and a slight whisper of voices indicated that the landing had begun. Cheers were given at first, but only slowly responded to—people evidently being too much occupied with their

own reflections to think of cheering, but as the ladies and children proceeded up, people doffed their hats almost mechanically, silently looking on as the heroines passed up. At this moment another ship in the harbour fired a salute, but it did not sound joyfully, it appeared rather like minute guns in remembrance of those whose widows and orphans were now passing in solemn review before us.

"The black dresses of most of the ladies told the tale of their bereavement, whilst the pallid faces, the downcast looks, and the slow walk, bore evidence of the great sufferings they must have undergone both in mind and body. And yet how thankful should we be that they have been spared other trials, in comparison to which death itself would be relief. As they passed, a chaos of sad recollections forced itself upon our minds, and we asked—where are those who, for the sake of saving English women and children from dishonour and death, have willingly sacrificed their own lives? Where is the illustrious Havelock? where the heroic Neill? where so many others that have stretched forth the arm for the rescue of helpless women and innocent children? Alas! they are no more, but their names will live for ever in the heart of every true Briton. And though there is no monument to mark the place where they sleep the everlasting sleep, their blood has marked in indelible ink, in the bosoms of their surviving brethren, the word 'retribution.' The solemn procession thus passed on and was handed into carriages which conveyed them to their temporary home. Home, did we say? It sounds almost like mockery to call the solitary room of the widow and her orphan by that name. Though the *government Gazette* intimated that the governor general's state barges and carriages would be in attendance, by some oversight none of them came up to the ghāt, and we confess that, in our humble opinion the presence of Lord and Lady Canning on such an occasion would have been as desirable as gratifying to all."

One more extract from a letter of the wounded officer already referred to,\* expresses the gratification felt by the sufferers at their most considerate reception—

\* See ante p. 40.

† Among many graceful tributes to the worth of a prelate so eminently qualified to adorn the hierarchy of the Christian church in India, the following remarks of the *Bombay Gazette* are selected as especially recording the claims of Dr Wilson to the esteem

"We arrived safely at Calcutta this morning, and were received by the authorities and all the European inhabitants with enthusiasm. A salute was fired from the fort, the men of war also saluted, and all the vessels in the harbour were dressed out in flags, according to a general order of the governor in council. A crimson carpet was laid from the steamer to the carriages which were in waiting to take us off to most comfortable quarters. The cheering, as we passed up the carpet, was vociferous; our reception was altogether of the most gratifying character."

Although not necessarily connected with the incidents of the revolt it may here be noticed as an historical fact, that on the 2nd of January, 1857, the aged and much venerated Dr D Wilson, bishop of Calcutta, died at the episcopal residence in that city, in the eighty second year of his age. This eminent divine, and worthy successor of the inspired Heber, was to the last in the full possession of his faculties, and in his personal movements was as active as most men at fifty. Bishop Wilson, although not popular, was gently missed in society, for, in India, it had not been usual to expatiate on the errors of European society. In Burmah, he openly, from the pulpit, taxed the Europeans with their concubinage, and, in his diocese, he never hesitated one moment to reprehend any one who deserved it, however elevated might be his official or social rank. There was a keenness of perception about him that penetrated far below the glittering surface presented to the world. Liberal to the last degree he upheld that which he believed to be right in the uncompromising spirit of John Knox. Of blameless purity of life, he was rigidly just in all his transactions with the world. He continued, to the end of his career, strongly attached to the evangelical section of the English church, and invariably displayed a preference for fellow labourers in the vineyard of similar tendencies. His magnificent library, collected at a vast expense from all parts of the world, was bequeathed by him to the city of Calcutta.

Early in 1857, the hostile feeling entertained by the people of the Bengal presidency against the governor general, which and reverence of the flock committed to his charge. The writer says—"A fine old English gentleman has departed full of years and honours; one that at me was an able servant of that church of which even to the end he was an ornament. While the physical capability remained with him his p

had in some degree abated for a short time, revived with a tone of increased virulence, of which the following extract from Calcutta correspondence, supplies ample proof. The writer, dating January 10th, says—“Lord Canning is still of opinion that the mutiny will speedily be put down. Public feeling and public judgment, among all classes, are very strong against him. Apparently nothing can or will open his eyes. At this moment the greatest insolence of demeanour is tolerated in the sepoy at Barrackpore. They salute no one, and General Hearsey has in vain endeavoured to obtain permission to bring to trial and condign punishment a havildar and two sepoys known to be most deeply implicated in some of the greatest atrocities. He cannot succeed. The answer is, ‘The governor-general isaverse to measures of severity.’ Do not be misled by the excuse that Lord Canning is in the hands of bad advisers, and that his civilian councillors are the persons to blame for his absurd apathy, obstinacy, and weak minded attempts at conciliation and clemency. They are incompetent enough, and their measures have been sufficiently pernicious to justify the conviction that the curse of India has been the preposterous interference of civilians in military affairs. But Lord Canning is alone answerable for his own acts. He began by professing that he would act independently of council and secretaries, and thereby en-

listed public sympathy strongly in his favour; but he has proved himself thoroughly incompetent. Nothing but the support of Lord Palmerston can keep him in India, and on this he relies. Even Calcutta civilians have had their eyes opened by facts. Even Mr John Peter Grant—whose mission to Benares at such a crisis, when soldiers and not members of council were required, was the signal for a unanimous shout of derision—even he has come to the conclusion that swift, sharp justice is now indispensable, but Lord Canning cannot be stung into patriotism or roused into righteous indignation. The feeling against him is well nigh unanimous, and civilians of real talent, who know something of India beyond the Calcutta ditch, condemn him as strongly as the sternest and most fiery soldiers. Much of the blame of his inane proceedings has been thrown upon the military secretary, Colonel Birch, but most unjustly, since he is far from holding his lordship's views, or having that inflexibility which his high position and experience entitle him.”

Another writer says—“Lord Canning has been so frightened by the accusation of missionary zeal, that he is ready to do anything to clear himself from it. The old policy of protecting Mohammedanism and Hindooism is in greater force than ever. It cannot be too often repeated, that our duty, both as a just government and as a

Wilson was a watchful and diligent overseer of the establishment committed to his charge. As bishop and metropolitan he went about, by land and by water from the Sutlej to Singapore, from the Irrawaddy to Murrachee. We have heard of his travelling in a native ‘gig,’ and it is on record, that the pilot brig in which he was voyaging was brought to by a shot from a royal man of war, for having presumed on his presence to hoist the union jack. But his days of active duty had long been past, and we should gladly have seen the octogenarian prelate retire, to make room for an overseer of greater physical competence. His continuance in an office the duties of which he was unable to perform was however, induced by no sordid motive. He had shown, if only by his magnificent contribution—at least a lac of rupees—to the building of the new Calcutta cathedral that he had no inordinate regard for filthy lucre. But the old man, ever ready to magnify his office, determined long ago to cling to it to the last—to the bishop of Calcutta and metropolitan of India, and to be buried in the sepulchre which he prepared for himself under the altar of his new cathedral. His remains will have been attended to in this resting place by an unusual gathering of very sincere mourners—for, with all the eccentricities of his character and his age he was much liked and respected in Calcutta. One of the worst results of Bishop Wilson's retention of office was, that it

offered a pretext such as it was for demanding ‘more bishops for India.’ The Bishop of Calcutta could not possibly supersede his see although it was only coincident with that of the governor-general and the commander-in-chief so the necessity for a Bishop of Agra at least, was apparent. The old man's death, and the appointment of a more physically able and active successor—say Dr Dealy, of Madras, who last year performed the visitation tour for the metropolitan—will abolish this poor excuse for a further appropriation of the revenue to sectional religious purposes. Bishop Wilson as many of our readers are aware, was a gentleman of handsome and aristocratic countenance. He was for a long time the most popular preacher in his diocese, and retained his place so long as he could be heard. His sermons were liked as much for their intellectual character and wholesome doctrine as for an originality, bordering on eccentricity which often distinguished them and which spiced them with personal and social allusions often of a very pungent flavour. Formerly there were few public meetings at Calcutta at which a bishop could properly attend whence Dr Wilson was missing. At one held after our Afghan disasters, he closed his speech with the exclamation ‘Only let us get at them! and the energy and enthusiasm of this burst of natural feeling caused it long to be remembered.’

Christian one, is to tolerate all false religions, but not to protect them. Hitherto we have fostered and encouraged them, and we have especially patronised Mohammedanism as being the most dangerous. During the Mohurram this year, the governor general and Mr Halliday gave the strongest assurance of protection to the Mohammedan community—exhorted them not to fear my interference, and actually sent European policemen to keep the roads and to walk at the head of the processions. So completely did the Mohammedans take possession of the road, that gentlemen wishing to pass to another part of the town were turned back. I am at a loss to conceive on what principle the disaffected Mohammedans of Calcutta are to receive a degree of protection, and to be allowed exclusive privileges, which would not be accorded to any class of religious procession at home. The business of the police should be to keep Europeans or Hindoos from breaking the heads either of Mussulmans or of each other, and, on the other hand, to keep any procession from interfering with the rights or convenience of the remainder of the inhabitants. But, unless the strongest pressure from home is applied, the 'old Indian' system of pampering and coddling the most disaffected of our subjects, will be pursued as of old, and with the same sort of ruinous results. Even the lamented Sir H. Lawrence was so far infected with this mania as seriously to damage his plan of defence at Lucknow, by requiring the engineer to 'spare the holy places,' i.e. Mohammedan mosques, where prayers are daily offered for our destruction, and thanks returned for the slaughter of our wives and children, 'and private property.' This undue softness was the one blemish in his noble character. In such a case, neither Westminster Abbey nor St Peter's should have been spared. To save the life of any one woman or child killed within the residency, would have been a sufficient reason for laying the whole of Lucknow in ashes. But such is the effect of a long residence in India, that few even of our best public men escape being Mohammedanised or Brahminised, with what results has been seen during the last six months. Red tape still reigns triumphant. Will it be hebevered at home that the first British troops who arrived, instead of being received with open arms as deliverers, were actually suffered to stand for hours on the Maidan, or plain,

not knowing where to go! because, as the officials expressed it, 'they had not reported themselves,' and therefore they had no official knowledge of their arrival. The consequence was, that when at last shelter was found for the men, many of the officers having none provided for them, and in utter ignorance where to go or what to do they actually passed the night in the open air."

How far the statement in the last paragraph was, or was not, warranted by facts might have been easy of proof, but as the alleged neglect does not appear to have called forth the indignant remonstrance of a commander so watchful for the comfort and accommodation of his troops as Sir Colin Campbell was well known to be, it is likely that the charge against the government house officials in this instance, rested upon no better foundation than did the accusation against Mr Grant, which had already been stripped of every pretension to truthfulness\*.

On the 31st of January, the governor general, for the greater facility of communication with the commander in chief, proceeded with his immediate staff to Allahabad, where he arrived on the 7th of February, and, on the following day, had an interview with the commander in chief who came down from the camp at Cawnpore for the purpose. At this meeting arrangements for the campaign in Oude were finally agreed upon and an order was issued for raising a native force, composed wholly of low caste men, who being without the prejudices that influenced the Brahmin class of the old native army were less accessible to the temptations offered by their disaffected countrymen and were also naturally better adapted for the exigencies of the seasons and for police and local purposes, than the European troops, whose strength might thereby be husbanded for occasions when it could be beneficially exerted.

Calcutta, during the spring months of 1858, was shorn of much of its splendour, as the capital of British India, by the absence of the governor general, and was, moreover, subjected to occasional alarms, that produced considerable excitement among the inhabitants. On the 3rd of March a telegraphic message was received from Barrackpore, announcing that the sepoy's of two native regiments at that station—namely, the 2nd and 23rd Bengal

\* See a *le*, p 400

native infantry, were deserting from their lines in parties of ten and twelve together, and were believed to be on their way to Calcutta, for the purpose of plundering the inhabitants. The volunteer guards were at once called out, and pickets were stationed at the posts selected, on occasions of the Bukree and the Mohurram. The various rendezvous appointed for the corps were occupied by companies of infantry and artillery, and detachments of cavalry patrolled the thoroughfares of the city. In connection with this report, it was also asserted that a native of high rank in Calcutta had engaged to supply the deserters with arms on their arrival. Some arrests consequent upon the discovery of the proposed visit of the sepoys, were made, and among them, that of the individual charged with offering arms to the deserters, but nothing serious resulted from the proceedings either way, nor did it appear, upon investigation that any real cause for alarm had actually existed.

The continuous arrivals of European troops at Calcutta during the preceding winter, and the obvious necessity that had arisen for permanently increasing the British force in India, induced the government to greatly enlarge the accommodation hitherto provided for them. Barrackpore, the military station of the capital from which it was distant about sixteen miles, although abundantly furnished with houses for the accommodation of native troops, had little capabilities for quartering Europeans, and it was resolved, instead of constructing new European barracks at that place, to increase those at Chinsurah—a town about twenty miles from Calcutta, in a more healthy situation, on the banks of the Hooghly, and which already possessed a fine European barrack and military hospital. Preparations were accordingly made for the necessary additions, and several hundred native workmen were for some time occupied in increasing the barrack accommodation to an extent equal to the requirements for 5,000 men, and in destroying and removing buildings, &c., within 500 yards on each side, to obtain space for the parade grounds.

The temporary residence of the governor-general was not without its occasional quietudes, shortly after his lordship had arrived there. Towards the end of March, owing to some defective information concerning the movements and strength of the enemy, a small European force, consisting

of two companies of H. M.'s 51st regiment, and a hundred Sikhs, with some Madras cavalry and two guns, was dispatched for the purpose of dispersing a body of rebels, who, it was reported, had appeared at Suraoon, a village situated between Allahabad and Gopcegunge. By accident or by design, the force was misdirected as regarded the locality in which the enemy were stationed, and, upon approaching a spot in the route, surrounded by a dense jungle, it was suddenly attacked by a large body of rebels, who with six guns were there concealed. They at once opened fire upon the little force thus taken by surprise, and a hasty retreat became inevitable. The loss was, however, but small, and the affair itself trifling, except as it tended to give encouragement to the rebels, by whom it was magnified into a splendid triumph, and the circumstance had also the effect of rendering the authorities uneasy, since it showed that, within a few miles of the provincial capital, in which the governor-general had taken up his quarters, there were not only rebels prepared for mischief, but that the intelligence, upon which much depended for success in military operations, could not safely be relied on.

Amidst these serious anxieties inseparable from his exalted position, the governor-general did not lose sight of those claims upon his attention which were connected with works for the improvement of the country over which he presided, and thus on the 24th of March, his lordship, with much ceremony, opened in extension of the great Indian railway between Allahabad and Fattelpore. The state trip to the new station at the latter place was, under the circumstances, somewhat remarkable, for, as the line throughout nearly its whole extent traversed an enemy's country, it was considered prudent first to burn down the villages on either side of it, and to post a strong body of troops, with guns, at every station. "The affair," says the *Calcutta Englishman*, "went off very well, as the guard at the several stations prevented the rebels from attempting to carry off the governor-general, or obstructing the line."

The question of compensation for losses sustained by the proceedings of the rebels, was warmly agitated at Calcutta in the early part of the year, and on the 20th of April, a meeting of parties interested was held, to take into consideration measures to be adopted for obtaining redress from



government Upon this occasion, it was resolved—"1 That, in the opinion of the meeting, all *Christian* subjects of the British government, whose property in the disturbed districts has suffered loss in consequence of the recent rebellion, are undoubtedly entitled to compensation from government for their losses 2. That the time has now come when it is expedient to take steps to press such cases on the notice of the government, and that a committee be appointed to communicate with the authorities, and take such steps as may appear advisable in substantiation of those claims" The consequence of this movement was shortly apparent in a government order, which applied to the cases of civilians only, and did not extend beyond the presidency of Bengal By this notification, it was declared that the compensation to be afforded would be for loss of property and effects only, leaving questions affecting loss of life or health to be otherwise disposed of A commissioner (Mr. E Jackson) was appointed at Calcutta to inquire into claims, and a limit was fixed for the reception of them—namely, the 25th of August following, after which, no claim was to be received from persons resident in India, but an extension of time was allowed for those absent from the country In all cases where the amount claimed did not exceed 50,000 rupees, the application to the commissioner was to be accompanied by a detailed statement of the particulars of the claim, and of the evidence adducible in support of it, but where the property was of higher amount, the regulation required only a general estimate to accompany the application—a further period of three months being allowed for the preparation and submission of the detailed statement of losses It was at the same time declared, that the preliminary operations described were not to be understood as constituting an actual claim upon the Company for any compensation whatever, nor did the registry of applicants required, imply any recognition of claims to compensation, the Court of Directors "having expressly reserved their final decision upon the question whether or not compensation for losses sustained by the mutiny shall be awarded" A similar notification appeared also at Allahabad, applicable to the North-West Provinces; and Messrs C Grant and J H Langden were there named commissioners, to receive and register claims

The conditions were generally the same as those in Bengal, but an announcement was added, that "applications will be received, subject to the same rules, from *natives of the country*, for compensation on account of loss of property, caused by their known loyalty and attachment to the British government" A similar announcement, some time afterwards, extended the boon to the loyal sufferers of Oude

Besides the above regulations for the benefit of those who had sustained loss of property by the mutiny, a government order of the 25th of May, announced that provision would be made for the relief of the destitute families of persons who had died after the loss of their property, even though the death was not directly consequent upon the rebellion, and it was determined that grants of money, to be regulated on the same principle as those allowed to European and native officers of the government, should be given to such families as were impoverished by the double visitation of plunder and of death

Another resolution of the Indian government, in connection with the revolt, gave very general satisfaction, although some few of the "old Indian" class affected much alarm at the "encroachment," as they termed it, upon the exclusive privileges of the army. The resolution, which, whether it originated in England or in India, was an excellent one, declared that *civilians* who had distinguished themselves in the field since the commencement of the mutiny, or who should so distinguish themselves before the mutiny ended, should be allowed to participate in the honours which had hitherto been considered peculiar to the military service The civil servants of the Company, as a body, had greatly raised themselves in the estimation of their countrymen at home, by the gallantry which many of them displayed under circumstances of great peril, not only in defending their posts against large bodies of insurgents, but in sharing those field and siege operations which were more especially the sources of honour to military men What those honours were to be depended upon the will of the crown and of the Company; but the intent of the resolution was to declare, that the civil position of a gallant man should no longer necessarily be a bar to his participation in the honours hitherto conferred by the country upon military men only

An affair with a body of insurgents between Allahabad and Gopcegunge in March, has already been noticed as productive of some uneasiness to the government, and towards the end of May, another occurrence took place which considerably increased the local disquietude. The circumstances are detailed by a correspondent in the following extract from a letter dated "Allahabad, May 21th"—"It seems that there is some kind of a fatality hanging over the unfortunate place. Yesterday, between 1 and 2 P.M., a fire broke out in the new barracks erected on the parade ground, near what is at present government-house. Five ranges were completely destroyed, the officers and men losing everything they had. The fire fortunately did not reach the hospital, in which were a great number of sick, but one poor fellow was burned to death, and others were severely wounded. It is evidently the work of an incendiary, as a man was found lurking in an empty barrack, who, it is suspected, can give some clue to the origin of the fire. Since the affair occurred, the governor general has had all his valuables sent into the fort, and will probably take up his residence there, as the neighbourhood is anything but safe, and part of the road between Futtchepore and Cawnpore is entirely commanded by a rebel force, consisting of some 1,500 men and two guns, under one Mahary Sing. Passengers, *en route* to Cawnpore, have been obliged to return to Futtchepore, and our state of anxiety here is certainly not diminished by the fact of an incendiary fire under the very eyes of the governor general. We are, however, told that the commander in chief is coming to take up his quarters here, while awaiting for the resumption of operations in next cold weather, and as his name is already 'a tower of strength,' we suppose we shall be tolerably safe for some time to come."

Another letter from the same station, which had acquired much additional importance by being selected for the temporary residence of the governor general, says—"The country about Allahabad is considered more unsafe now than it ever has been during the worst part of the rebellion, if we are not now passing through that phase of it. In fact, though systematically organised resistance in masses has ceased, the opposition to our rule has assumed a guerilla character, which may be as well, if not better, conducted than when operations

were on a large scale. The rebels, though in arms much worse, are decidedly in foresight more advanced, and they seem resolved to bring to the unequal contest all their resources in knowledge of the country, and the sympathy of the population. Their movement is evidently downwards; so that Lower Bengal may, ere long, become the scene of their last struggle."

Among other indications of returning tranquillity, the disbandment of the corps of volunteer cavalry, which was composed almost wholly of officers from the revolted regiments, and civilians of property, and which had rendered eminent service at a time when European troops were scarce, was a measure that in its operation caused some degree of regret. It was, however, considered imperative at the time, and, on the 19th of June, the following notification directed the breaking up of the gallant band—

(General Order) Calcutta June 19th

"The services of the volunteer cavalry being no longer required the right honourable the governor general is pleased to direct that the infantry soldiers now attached to it shall rejoin their respective regiments and that the corps shall be finally broken up from the date of receipt of this order at Luck now."

"In testimony of the governor general's appreciation of the services of the volunteer cavalry, his lordship authorises the bestowal of a gratuity of three hundred rupees each, on all members of the corps not being officers or sold ers."

"The volunteer cavalry took a prominent part in all the successes which marked the advance of the late Major general Sir H. Havelock from Allahabad to Lucknow, and on every occasion of its employment against the rebels, whether on the advance to Lucknow or as part of the force with which Major general Sir J. Outram held Alumbagh this corps greatly distinguished itself by its gallantry in action, and by its fortitude and endurance under great exposure and fatigue."

The governor general offers to Major Barrow, who ably commanded the volunteer cavalry and boldly led them in all the operations in which they were engaged his most cordial acknowledgments for his very valuable services and to Captain Lynch, and all the officers and men who composed this corps his lordship tenders his best thanks for the eminent good conduct and exemplary courage which they displayed during the whole time that the corps was embodied."

This formal announcement was communicated to Major Barrow, with the following gratifying testimonial from Major general Sir James Outram—a mark of esteem that, in some measure, compensated for the disappointment felt by the members of the corps upon their dispersion—

"My dear Barrow,—We are about to separate perhaps for ever; but, believe me, I shall ever retain

you in affectionate remembrance and ever speak with that intense admiration which I feel for the glorious volunteers whom you have commanded with such distinct on. It would afford me much pleasure to shake every one of them by the hand and tell them how warmly I feel towards them. But this is impossible, my pressing duties will not allow me even to write a few farewell lines to each of your officers, but I trust to your communicating to them individually my affectionate adieu and sincerest wishes for their prosperity. May God bless you and them.

A tribute like the above, from an officer so capable of appreciating the merits of the corps to whose commander it was addressed, became doubly valuable at the moment of separation.

A project for the exaltation of the city of Allahabad into the capital of a presidency, which had been for some time under the consideration of government, became now a subject of serious attention. The peculiar features of this important station have already been noticed.\* Occupying the point of a peninsula formed by the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna, Allahabad could scarcely be paralleled for advantageous position by any other city in India, the one river bringing down to it a stream of traffic from Kumaon, Rohilcund, Farruckabad, Cawnpore, Lucknow, and the south western districts of Oude, while the other conveyed to it that from Kuruan, Meerut, Delhi, Agra, Calpee, and a wide extent of country in Rajpootana, Bundelcund, and the Doab. Besides these commercial advantages, Allahabad was nearly surrounded by an extraordinary number of large military and trading stations, all within easy reach of it, and of each other. At one time it was in contemplation to have elevated Agra to the position of a presidential city, but for some reason the intention was not carried out, and, in lieu of it, the North-West Provinces were formed into a lieutenant governorship, with Agra as the seat of its local government. As the military progressed, events of growing importance showed the necessity for holding the position of Allahabad as a centre of influence, which, from the important facilities surrounding it, there could be little difficulty of establishing. Bounded, as we have seen, by two fine rivers on the north, south, and east sides, it was susceptible, on the west, of any degree of enlargement desired, simply by enclosing additional ground, and could also be made, at the same time, one of the strongest forts in India, while its

\* See vol. I, p. 217.

rivers, aided by the railway then in progress, unite to make it the great centre of trade from Peshawar to Calcutta. By the plan submitted to the government for the proposed improvement, it was seen that the river frontages could be rendered defensible against any possible attacks that Orientals could bring against them. On the west, or 11th side, it was proposed to construct a line of intrenchment four miles in length, from river to river. This fortification would consist mainly of two great redoubts on the river-banks, each capable of holding an entire regiment of Europeans. With these redoubts, another midway between them, and an earthen embankment to connect the three, it was considered the city would be rendered impregnable to any hostile force that could be brought against it. Within the space between the embankment, the city, and the river, was included an encampment, a European town, and a native town. The encampment, which was designed to embrace a complete military establishment for half a dozen regiments, was to be near the western boundary, on the Jumna side. Eastward of this was arranged the new English town, to be built on plots of ground leased for the purpose to builders, native or European, who were to be bound to conform to a general plan, having reference to the railway station as a centre of trade. Nearer the Ganges was to be built a native town, while, at the point of junction of the two rivers, the existing fort would be strengthened and enlarged, so as to form, if needed, a last stronghold for all the Europeans in Allahabad and its vicinity. Such were the general features of a scheme for the improvement of the proposed capital of a new presidency, and, on the 5th of May, 1858, a notification by government specified the terms upon which building leases were to be granted.

On the 14th of August, the first division of the naval brigade—composed of the men of the *Shannon*, who, under their lamented commander, Sir William Peel, had eminently distinguished themselves in the war of the mutinies—returned to Calcutta from the scenes of their heroic doing. These brave men were deservedly honoured with a public reception by the president in council and all the officers of government at the presidency. The troops in garrison were paraded, the ships of the port were dressed upon the occasion, and about 20,000 of the native and European sailors assembled to give them welcome. The brigade had

been reduced, by the vicissitudes of service, far below its original strength, but the greater part of the survivors had all the vivacity of lads of twenty years of age.

Before closing the present chapter, it may be well to remind the reader, that throughout the greater portion of the period embraced by the events of this volume, the position of Lord Canning, as governor-general of India, had been one of great anxiety, and occasionally of serious embarrassment, owing to the extreme virulence with which popular feeling, both in India and in Europe, found expression upon the subject of punishment due to mutineers and rebels. At first, when the outbreak was in its earlier stage, the friends and relatives of the victims of sepoy cruelties, vented their grief and indignation in a wild demand for vengeance, that could only have perpetuated the horrors which had already moistened the soil of India with blood and tears, and which it would have been impossible for any government professing to be guided by the precepts of Christianity, to have sanctioned. This feeling, after the first excitement had subsided, was deplored by all moderate people, and its repression became an object of policy. By not lending himself to this cry for blood, Lord Canning became unpopular with the unthinking public, and with that portion of the press which is ever ready to lend its aid to a popular cry, whether right or wrong, for the purpose of a transient success over its rival contemporaries. This unprincipled section of the press in India and in England, unhesitatingly joined in the cry, and provided stimulants for the popular frenzy by its terrible representations, the bulk of which had little foundation but in the imagination of the writers.

The following specimen from a Calcutta journal, affords a moderate sample of the tone which became popular during the three consecutive months beginning with May, 1857:—"Not the least among the many evils which will follow in the steps of this rebellion, is the permanent effect it will have upon the feelings of the European community hereafter. As to our countrywomen, whose feelings have been tortured by the horrible details of atrocities perpetrated around them, we know that among them are many hundreds of English ladies, who lie down nightly to dreams of terrors too agonising for utterance, who are scarcely able to converse but upon one dreadful

subject, and who, if opportunity presented itself, would now be found almost as willing as their husbands and fathers, to go out and wage battle with the murderers of their sisters, if they could only thereby insure the infliction of a deep and bloody vengeance. They feel that it is a contest with murderers, who are not satisfied with blood alone—that they must live in daily expectation of them. They suspect that the very servants around them are in league to betray and destroy them, and thus they suffer, almost hourly, worse than the prangs of death. Many have already died by homicidal hands, more from the pangs of starvation and terror, the agonies of mental torture, and the slower process of exposure and exhaustion, and, while all this is going on, friends and relations sigh vainly for the coming day of vengeance, and are prated to about moderation, when nothing short of exemplary and unsparing retribution, can possibly atone for the villainies of the accursed race we have pampered to our undoing."

It has already been shown, that orders and proclamations were issued from time to time by the governor general in council, and by his lieutenants in the provinces, declaratory of the line of conduct to be pursued in relation to punishments to be inflicted upon mutineers and deserters, and the treatment to be accorded to non-military natives who should exhibit signs of disaffection. Upon these topics, the line of policy contested between the lieutenant governor of the North West Provinces (Mr. John Russell Colvin) and the governor general in council, has been already adverted to. The former, it will be recollected, had issued a proclamation to the mutineers of the provinces under his superintendence, in which, among other things, he promised that "soldiers engaged in the late disturbances, who were desirous of going to their own homes, and who gave up their arms at the nearest government civil or military post, and retired quietly, should be permitted to do so unmolested." Whereas Lord Canning insisted, that this indulgence or leniency should not be extended to the men of any regiments which had murdered or ill-used their officers, or committed cruel outrages on other persons. There were, in addition to these orders, others—proclaiming martial law in particular districts, appointing commissioners to try mutineers by a very summary process, authority to military officers to deal with offending civilians, as well as

\* See also vol. I., pp. 11<sup>a</sup> 143. † *Ibid.*, p. 137.

with the revolted sepoys; permitting the police to arrest suspected persons without the formality of warrants, and making the zemindars and landowners responsible for the conduct of persons upon their estates, with other measures of a similar tendency, each of which, in turn, became a subject of controversy, and generally of severe animadversion, on the part of those who, commenting upon the various topics from a distant view of their merits, were least entitled to express an opinion upon the proceedings of the governor general, whose conduct was alternately represented as influenced by an imbecile exhibition of ill-directed clemency, or a perfectly Draconian

thrust for blood. Thus, when in the month of July, 1858, Lord Canning found it requisite to check the over zeal of some of the tribunals at Allahabad, where the authorities were prone to execute accused persons without waiting for formal evidence of their guilt, he was loudly accused of interference with the righteous demand for blood, but when, some few months previously, his proclamation to the people of Oude came to the notice of the English public; a peer of parliament was among the first to charge the governor general with undue severity, and with a policy that, by its rigour, had thrown insurmountable difficulties in the way of the pacification of the country.

## CHAPTER V

LORD CANNING'S POLICY AS VIEWED IN ENGLAND; APPEAL FROM LUCKNOW AND CALCUTTA; POLITICAL DECLARATION ON INDIAN AFFAIRS; SIR J. B. LYTON AND MR. DISRAELI; A EAST INDIA RECLAMATION; THE FIFTH FUND; CARDINAL WISEMAN; ARCHBISHOP CULLEN AND LORD ST. LEONARDS; MEETING AT NEW YORK; OPINIONS OF AN EAST INDIA DIRECTOR; MR. J. J. WILLOUGHBY; SIR JOHN LAKINGTON; LORD HILLYBOROUGH'S ADDRESS TO THE TWOMANRY OF ENLIGHTENMENT FOR THE MILITIA; BUNGEED CHANDLER AT THE BOARD OF CONTROL; MR. J. B. LYTON; THE EAST INDIA PUBLIC LITIGATION; PROJECT FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NATIVE ARMY; CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS; EARL ORANGEVILLE AND VISCOUNT PALMERSTON; CONFIDENCE OF GOVERNMENT IN LORD CANNING; SCHEME FOR FAMILIARISING THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

DURING the interval between the prorogation of parliament, in August, and the close of the year 1857, public attention continued to be riveted to the events connected with the military revolt in Bengal, which had then acquired the characteristic features of a wide spread insurrection, and as the successive details of operations reached this country, alternately bringing with them tidings of ruthless cruelty, of heroic achievement and of still increasing disaffection, the question of competency to grapple with the exigencies of the crisis, as it regarded the supreme Anglo Indian government (and was evidenced by its proceedings) became a theme of earnest discussion among all classes of society in this country, as it already had been in India. The points most angrily and pertinaciously urged against the administration of Lord Canning were based upon the erroneous estimate formed, by himself and colleagues of perils that were apparent at the very outbreak of the mutinies, and of which, it was con-

tended, he had most incensably underrated the nature and serious extent of, in the face of positive and ample evidence of their hourly increasing importance. It was charged against his government, that it was neither prepared for the contingency that had arisen, nor disposed, by a candid avowal of its error, and an energetic effort to struggle against the consequences of it, to prove its capability to rule at a crisis of such imminent difficulty, that, on the contrary, his government had depreciated the importance of the hostile movement, by which its native army was falling to pieces, that it had, from the first, neglected to avail itself of the resources at its command for the repression of disorder, and that it had eventually prolonged the horrors of the catastrophe of May, 1857, by wilfully and weakly misrepresenting its true character to the home government.

To some extent, it must be allowed, that the charges or rather the faults upon which they rested, were so perfectly recorded with

the general tendencies of human nature, that they were clothed with something more than mere plausibility—they were just possible to be *in a degree* correct. The members of the Indian government, as the actual rulers of the rampant empire entrusted to their administration, must, naturally, have been reluctant to admit the seriousness of a revolt which would not only carry with the fact of its existence a condemnation of the policy they had pursued, but would threaten also an entire disruption of the system from which they derived their power, and it was not extraordinary that they should resist, as long as possible any such conviction. At the same time, it is only fair to the governor-general and his council to remark, that the true character of the movement which had developed itself so suddenly and mysteriously, was, for a long time after its mischievous effects were apparent, but imperfectly appreciated by those who, in the midst of the disturbed districts, were considered to be most intimately acquainted with the sepoys and their grievances. It was doubted by many of the best informed among the civil officers of government, and experienced military men also, whether the insurrection, even when it presented the extraordinary spectacle of an entire army in a condition of revolt against the state to which it had sworn allegiance, was originally an organised and concerted national movement, or merely the result of local irritation, and without any ulterior design against the stability of the Company's government. At any rate a singular inconsistency was presented in the language of many who held opinions condemnatory of the government of Lord Canning because it did not at once perceive the germs of a great national insurrection in the outbreak of the 10th of May, at Meerut, but who yet affirmed, in the same breath that the whole rebellion could have been at stilled in its birth if the European soldiers on the spot had been properly employed in intercepting the flight of the mutineers towards Delhi. On

the one hand, they insisted upon a vast combination, which should have been prepared for by all the resources of government, on the other, a mere local mutiny, which the few European troops at hand if efficiently commanded, might have quelled without difficulty.\*

It may be urged on the part of the Indian government, that it had not, at the crisis of the outbreak, any machinery in existence for the purpose of discovering a latent conspiracy against its authority. The European refinement of a detective police had not yet been grafted upon the state mysteries of British Indian polity, nor had it been the practice of the present or preceding administrations to employ agents to keep it informed as to the tone of popular opinion within the limit of its own territories—the residents at the courts of native princes being the only channels through which the government received intelligence or to which it looked for information. The complications of official duties and responsibilities were also impediments to the chances of any revelation reaching the quarter most immediately interested in its importance, through the intervention of a pernicious system of 'routine' and 'circumlocution' which retarded the progress of everything on its way to the governor-general in council and rendered the voice of warning utterly useless, as well as dangerous, to a too officious transgressor of official etiquette.

It is also observable, that, up to the moment of the outbreak Englishmen lived and ruled in India with as much reliance upon the elements of security (that is, the power of government) and as much confidence in their safety as the dominant race, as they could possibly have done at home. Everything around them indicated patient submission to British authority, and even after the deplorable atrocities at Meerut and Delhi, officers of the mutinous battalions, from the colonel to the junior ensign—men whose own lives would be the first and im-

\* A singular anticipation of the possible revolt of the Indian native army is recorded in Hansard's Commons Debates, 17th February 1858. Mr Brougham in his celebrated speech on law reform denounced among other abuses in our judiciary system the delays and costliness of India in appeals decided in London by the former ill-constituted court of privy council. He contrasted the evil with the then improved law courts of Ceylon—stating that one good effect had resulted in the latter colony as the Ceylon population previously rebellious in 1816 acted in the mother country in putting down and

crushing a military mutiny. Mr Brougham further observed—So it will be in the Peninsula if you give your subjects a share in administering your laws and an interest and a pride in supporting you. Should the day ever come when I suggest on my appeal to 10,000,000 of us not a few thousand strangers who have planted themselves upon the ruins of the ancient dynasties you will find how much safer it is to have won their hearts, and universally cemented their attachment by a common interest in your system than to rely upon 100,000 sepoys' swords of excellent temper but in doubtful hands."

meliorate forest in the event of error—persisted to the last in affirming that they knew their troops, and that their loyalty was above suspicion. It was not surprising that government should be lulled into a sense of security by such assurances from such a source, and although it *afterwards* became apparent that the first symptoms of a mutinous spirit displayed at Barrackpore and Dumdah, portended worse evils than were then anticipated, and that if the European force at hand had been sufficient for the vindication of authority as those instances of insubordination occurred, it would have been better to have cut down the mutineers as they stood, in the first act of mutiny, and thereby check the spirit of revolt—it is by no means certain that the conduct of the governor-general would have escaped censure and condemnation for adopting such policy. If the example had actually sufficed to deter others from insurrection, its necessity would have been called in question from the very fact, and those who were loudest in charging culpable supineness on the part of the governor-general, would have been among the first to condemn him for a hasty and uncalled-for effusion of blood.

But if, after the Indian government became sensible of the importance of the crisis which had arrived, the measures adopted by it were as prompt and energetic as they possibly could be, its previous acts could be of little comparative importance, so far as position and immediate results were concerned, and certainly the ground of inactivity, upon which much stress was laid, does not seem to be perfectly clear. It is indisputable, that when the revolt was once unveiled in its full proportions, the first great duty of Lord Canning's government consisted in procuring forces to suppress it, and this duty was performed by rapidly collecting European battalions from every quarter to which a despatch could be transmitted, and from which a British soldier could be spared the next step was to provide for their conveyance, with all possible speed, to the various points of disturbance. This duty, it is admitted, was so efficiently performed, that not a single quarter from whence aid could be drawn was overlooked or untaxed. At the outbreak of the insurrection the far greater portion of the European troops attached to the Bengal establishment, is also some of the best-trained and disciplined corps of irregulars,

were distributed over the Punjab, from whence the necessary succours were drawn for the force before Delhi, leaving barely sufficient European troops to ensure the safety of the widely-extended territory over which Sir John Lawrence presided from this quarter, therefore, no assistance could be afforded, but to the governments of the sister presidencies of Madras and Bombay, as well as to the adjacent colonies and to the mother country, urgent requisitions for immediate aid were dispatched. The soldiers with whom Havelock fought his way to Cawnpore through a succession of brilliant victories, were drawn partly from Madras and partly from Bombay. One-half of those who marched against the rebel hordes at Arrah, were contributed by the governor of Ceylon, and of the two English regiments sent up the Ganges to the aid of Havelock at Lucknow, one came from the Mauritius, and the other was intercepted on its way to China. Of the energy displayed by Lord Canning in collecting and appropriating these elements of strength, there can be no question, and as the charge of weakness died away, it was sought to affix upon his government an odium of another character, and the *sobriquet* of "Clemency Canning" was sarcastically applied to him, as indicative of the ultra-moderation of his policy when dealing with the rebels at his feet.

It is more than possible, if a crisis like that produced by the mutiny of the Bengal army, and the insurrection in Oude could have been foreseen, that the individual selected to go forth and encounter the emergencies of a struggle on which the future mastery of India depended, might not have been Viscount Canning, nor is it likely, judging from his lordship's antecedents, that he would have been at all desirous of a post in which the attributes of splendour and dignity would be overwhelmed by the responsibilities and perils of a most arduous command. But it is due to him to acknowledge, that if, in the position in which he suddenly and unexpectedly found himself, he did not display the intuitive genius of a Clive or a Hastings, for conquest and for government, he certainly exhibited abilities that were not unequal to the occasion. His principal and most determined opponents did not deny him the credit of unimpeached integrity and undoubted courage, and if his policy, in the main, expressed the views of his council

rather than his own convictions, the fault lay in the system of government to which he succeeded, and which, fortunately, has been compelled to succumb to the more enlightened and statesmanlike arrangements of an imperial government. The system, as he found it, involved a complicated and cumbrous machinery of administration, but no real or individual responsibility. The president of the Board of Control represented one species of authority, the Court of Directors another, and the governor general in council a third. Among these rival authorities it was difficult to determine where any course of policy should originate, and sometimes, through the one of them relying upon another to initiate a measure, it occurred that neither party moved at all, and, consequently, nothing was done. At all events, the circumstances by which Lord Canning was surrounded, were of a nature to elicit the sympathies of reflecting minds, and it was no trifling test of his ability, to command success under the pressure of extraordinary difficulties,—that although, up to the middle of September, some four months from the outbreak of the revolt he had not received the assistance of a single soldier from England, he had withstood the full force of that terrible shock which it was predicted would shiver the Anglo-Indian empire into fragments, and, at the close of 1857, still held the imperial trust delegated to him—firmly and enduringly. We shall now turn to the progress of events connected with the revolt, as they arose in this country.

The occurrences in India, as they were brought to the notice of the English public by successive mails, continued to excite the most lively apprehensions, and the deepest sympathy among all classes. The interval of the parliamentary recess was fruitful of public meetings, both in the capital and the provinces, at which the views of leading men of all parties were expressed upon the all important topic of the mutinies, and although opinions were as wide apart as the poles, with regard to the past and present policy of the Indian government, and the capacity of its members, there was no question about the necessity for the adoption of vigorous and uninterrupted measures for the re-establishment of order and authority. The contributions to the European fund for the relief of those who had suffered during the outrages, continued to pour in with

characteristic liberality, and the energies of every department of the public service were called into requisition to facilitate the operations of government in its efforts to strengthen the hands of its representative in India.

The period at length arrived when vague surmises, and fears that had been long and painfully created by rumour (darkly shaded by exaggeration), were to be satisfied by the authority of individual survivors of the frightful catastrophe that had drenched a large portion of Bengal with innocent blood. On Thursday, September 25th, the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamship, *Colombo*, arrived at Southampton, bringing with her 184 passengers from Calcutta. The approach of the ship had been telegraphed the preceding day, and most considerate preparations were immediately made for the reception of its interesting freight, among whom was the wife of Brigadier Inglis, who had shared with her gallant husband the fatigues, the privations, and the dangers of the residency at Lucknow. In accordance with a resolution of a committee of the Relief Fund, the lady widowess had already arrived at Southampton, to await the approach of the steamer, and upon its anchoring in the roads, her husband accompanied by one of the under sheriffs of London, proceeded to the vessel, to carry solace and comfort to the mourners—herself also a mourner, through the same dispensation that had bowed the heads of all with deep affliction.\* The mayor of Southampton, accompanied by the superintendent of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and by Dr. Symes, a resident of Southampton (who had fitted up apartments in his house for the reception of any of the destitute sufferers who would avail themselves of his hospitality), were early on board the *Colombo*. The lady widowess, upon reaching the deck, being conducted to a cabin by the captain, the object of her visit was communicated to the passengers with much delicacy and feeling. A correspondent, describing the interesting scene at the moment, says—"Many relatives and friends of the passengers who had anxiously awaited their arrival, also came on board, and their meeting was an affecting sight. They embraced each other in

\* The lady widowess was in mourning for the loss of her brother Colonel Finn, killed at Meerut on the 10th of May 1857. See vol. 1, p. 7.



seeming unconsciousness of the presence of strangers, and paced the deck with their arms encircling each other's waists. A great number of the passengers went ashore in one of the small steamers. A crowd of persons was in the dock, and here also affectionate greetings took place between long absent friends and relatives, which drew tears from many a bystander. There were about sixty children on board the Indian mail packet, a large portion of whom were infants in arms—all of them hurried out of India on account of the fearful atrocities committed there. The scene on board the *Colombo* was very different from that which usually takes place on board homeward Indian packets. The usual female passengers on board these ships are ladies in the gayest spirits, and dressed in the gorgeous silks and shawls of the East, but many of the lady passengers of the *Colombo* bore marks of great sufferings and anxieties, and their dresses betokened their losses, and the rapidity of their flight from the mutinous districts. Many of these passengers escaped from Delhi, Lucknow, and other parts of Oude. Fortunately they started from those places at the commencement of the mutinies. The language of their husbands was, 'Get out of the country with the children as soon as you can, and never mind us.' Many of them have never heard anything of their husbands since. Some of the ladies escaped nearly naked—lived in the jungle for days with their infant children, starving and rarely able to get a handful of rice to satisfy the cravings of hunger. Few villagers were willing to assist them, and many of those who were willing, were afraid to do so. Not the least interesting refugee on board the *Colombo*, was a little dog. It had escaped from Delhi by faithfully following its mistress and her children. It had nearly paid a heavy penalty for its fidelity. Its back had been literally burnt by the sun, and is not healed yet. Some of the passengers gave a frightful picture of the state of Calcutta and the interior provinces of India.\*

Among the passengers by this vessel were Miss Graham, whose father, Dr Graham, was shot down while riding by her side on the 9th of July, at Serikote. Mrs Baker, one of the sufferers at Cawnpore, and two other ladies, who, in their efforts to escape, were during a whole month hunted in the jungles, the scenes they passed through

\* See vol. I, p. 669.

were heartrending, and their hair breadth escapes perfectly marvellous. A child only six years of age, named Nina Bailey (the daughter of Captain Bailer, 7th Bengal native infantry, which mutinied at Dinapore),† was also on board, the poor child was motherless, and had come to England in charge of a stranger, rather than be left exposed to the perils of the revolt, of her father's fate she was ignorant. Another child, ten years of age, named Clara Dunbar, was on board also—the daughter of Captain Dunbar, of the 10th regiment, killed at Arrah.‡ One of the most affecting cases on board the *Colombo*, was that of Sergeant Owen, of the 53rd regiment, with his wife and three young children. "The sergeant was late superintendent of roads between Peshawar and Lahore, and received a sun stroke in India, which has taken away his reason. In May, and when the youngest child was but fourteen days old, the mutinies occurred in the district in which they resided, and the poor woman, weak from her late confinement, and with an imbecile husband and three children, was compelled to flee for her life. The history of this family from that period till the time when they arrived at Calcutta, was one of great suffering and distress. The poor woman told her tale of hardship and privation, of endurance and grief, of hair breadth escapes, and deeds of cruelty which they had witnessed and passed through, with tearful eyes, and an utterance choked with emotion. The loving wife, the fond mother, and the heroic woman, shone in her worn and sunburnt features as she related the misings of her infant for nourishment, which fatigue and want of food had rendered her incapable of supplying, the cries of her two other children for food, when for days they were wandering in the jungle, or subsisting on the scanty pittance they were enabled to get from casual relief, the apparent indifference of her husband to everything that was passing around, save and except the safety of his children—for the sad affliction which had befallen him I did not bereft him of affection for his offspring. 'And now,' she said, addressing the party who had sympathised with her, 'here we are all in England quite safe. There's my baby, whom I never expected to have kept alive from one hour to another, there's my other two children, and there's my poor husband!'—and she

† See ante, p. 162.

‡ Ibid, p. 169.

pointed to a stout, well formed man, who was nursing the infant, and whose vacant stare at everything around most probably gave cause to another burst of grief which the poor woman indulged in."

A few days after the *Colombo* had discharged her valuable burden, another vessel (the *Indus*) arrived at Southampton, bringing also 150 fugitives who had fled from the inhospitable soil of Hindostan. Many of these individuals were from Cawnpore, Allahabad, and other places in the Upper Provinces, and some had fled from Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, through an undefined sense of impending evil. The scene presented at the meeting of these passengers with their friends, was one of overwhelming excitement, and many around were moved to tears by the unutterable anguish that was presented to their gaze. About forty children, many of them orphans, came by the *Indus*, and among the passengers was Lieutenant Chapman, nineteen years of age, who was shot by the mutineers at Benares,\* when a bullet went through his cheek, and carried away part of the roof of his mouth, so that his speech was now scarcely intelligible. Captain Montague also came home in the *Indus*, wounded. He belonged to the irregulars, and was in command of a company of Sikhs, with General Havelock's army, and fought on the march to Cawnpore. He lost his two children from want and exposure while coming down the Ganges from Allahabad. This officer well knew Nana Sahib, and was present at a ball given by him at Cawnpore about a month before the mutiny broke out. It was the most magnificent ball ever given at Cawnpore, all the English were present, most of whom were afterwards mercilessly slaughtered by order of their quondam host Captain Montague and his wife left Cawnpore before it was captured by the mutineers. Among other reports, the passengers said, that almost the only man who escaped the massacre of Cawnpore, had gone raving mad. This was an officer named Brown, who, after he got away, suffered great hardships, and lay hidden in a nullah, without food, during three days and nights. It was also stated by them, that Miss Goldie, a very beautiful young lady, was taken by Nana Sahib to his harem, and was believed to be living.

Many English were still at Calcutta

\* See vol. i. p. 229

when the *Indus* left that port, who had had narrow escapes from the infuriated wretches who were devastating the English stations. These were expected to follow by successive mail packets, and, upon the authority of some of the passengers of the *Indus*, it was reported, that a lady had arrived at Calcutta previous to the departure of the vessel, who had had both her ears cut off by the rebels. This was, perhaps, one of the least horrible in the series of outrages alleged to be systematically perpetrated by the Hindoo and Mohammedan fanatics, in their wild attempt to gratify their hatred and revenge.

The leisure for public men which periodically occurs after the prorogation, was chiefly occupied by some of the most distinguished of the class, in efforts to enlighten the various constituencies upon the Indian difficulty—as it was sometimes modestly termed, and the members of the upper house of legislature vied with their compatriots of the Commons in the "diffusion of useful knowledge," by a series of itinerating lectures to the people, at town halls, mechanics' institutes, and agricultural and other meetings. Among the most prominent of the orators of the day, were Sir E. B. Lytton, one of the representatives of Hertfordshire, and the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, the member for Buckinghamshire, both of whom, from their position and public influence, might be supposed to express the sentiments of important sections of the community, and were, therefore, entitled to special attention upon the subject. At a meeting of the Herts Agricultural Society, held at St Alban's on the 30th of September, the first mentioned statesman gave utterance to the following sentiments, which, in the main, very accurately described the general feeling at the time—"The war that has now broken out, is not, like the Russian war, for the assertion of an abstract principle of justice, for the defence of a foreign throne, or for protection against a danger that did not threaten ourselves more than the rest of Europe—it is for the maintenance of the British empire. It is a struggle of life and death for our rank among the rulers of the earth. It is not a war in which we combat by the side of brave and gallant allies, but one in which we fight single handed against fearful odds and in which we must neither expect nor desire foreign aid."

Referring to the enthusiasm that had

been manifested by the people in this cause, the honourable baronet said—'I think it is no wonder that the heart of England is up—that the slow progress of recruiting for the regular army, and even the constitutional resource of the militia, should not satisfy the ardour of an aroused people. It is no wonder that our journals should teem with offers of volunteers, and from a class that has never before furnished us with private soldiers. I am told that it is difficult for the war office to avail itself of these offers. Difficult! why, of course it is. There is nothing worth having that is not difficult. My life, and, I suppose, the life of every man among you who has worked with hand or head, has been one long contest with difficulties, and none of us would be the men we now are if we had tamely allowed difficulties to conquer us. Therefore, I say, it will not be to the credit of the government or the war office if they cannot devise some practical means by which to discipline and organise so much ardour. I should be sorry if we lost the occasion to show to Europe, how England, when necessary, can start at once into a military nation, without the tyranny of conscriptions, and without the ruinous extravagance of large standing armies. The blood of many a stout English yeoman must have run cold in his veins when he read of the atrocious massacres of Delhi and Cawnpore, and he must have panted to show, as his forefathers often did before, that there is no metal for a sword like the iron ploughshare. Of volunteers in such a cause there can be no lack. If I were but ten years younger, I would remember that I am the son of a soldier, and would be a volunteer myself, and even now, if I thought it possible that the young, the robust, and the adventurous needed an example from those whose years, habits and station might be supposed to entitle them to refuse, I declare I should be among you to canvass, not for votes but for men and should myself lead them against the enemies of our race.' He then proceeded to say—"The present is not the time nor is this the place to criticise the policy which has produced the revolt in India, but I may be permitted to say, that revolutions or revolts are never sudden. Those which appear to us to have been so had always given long previous though it might be neglected warnings. Revolts and revolutions are like the springing of mines. The ground must be hollowed, the barrels

filled, the train laid, and the match fired before we can be startled by the explosion, and therefore the man who tells us that a revolt which must have taken months, if not years, to organise, no prudence could have foreseen, or no energy could have prevented, simply asks us to believe that policy is an accident and government a farce. But the whole of that question it will be the duty of parliament to examine, not with the view of bringing the force of party to bear against individuals, who may have committed mere human errors of judgment—and, after all, the public itself is not free from blame for its long indifference to our Eastern empire—but for the purpose of obtaining knowledge and guidance for the future."

Upon the same subject, the Hon. Mr. Disraeli, at Aylesbury, spoke as follows at a meeting also held on the 30th of September—"One of the greatest calamities that ever befell this empire, has fallen upon us. It is not for us at present to enter into the causes of those great disasters, or to enquire who are the individuals upon whom the responsibility for them must ultimately rest, but there are two considerations which cannot, at such a moment, be absent from the minds of Englishmen. In the breast of every man, there must now exist a feeling of profound sympathy for those of our fellow subjects in India, whose sufferings have dimmed every eye and pained every heart in the kingdom. And there must be equally present in every mind an anxiety that the government should at this crisis take those steps which may be adequate to the occasion, to vindicate our empire and maintain our glory. I believe it is now also the universal conviction, that the description originally given of these unfortunate and extraordinary movements in India, was not authorised by the circumstances of the case. Day by day, we have seen that that which was at first characterised as a slight and accidental occurrence, is in fact one of those great events which form epochs in the history of mankind, and which can only be accounted for by considerations demanding the deepest attention from statesmen and nations. But although three months have elapsed since the startling news of these disasters originally arrived in England—although every succeeding mail has brought to us gloomy intelligence showing that these disasters are continuing to a proportion infinitely more

terrible than the country at first imagined—although we cannot flatter ourselves that either by the next mail, or by the mail after that, or even for a considerable period to come we shall hear the cheering news which we were informed so often would immediately reach us, but which has hitherto eluded our expectation—although I foresee much evil, still I do not now, and I never have, counselled despondency or despair. But I am persuaded that if we wish to repair these misfortunes we must recognise their magnitude and importance, and that it is only upon this recognition that we can devise remedies adequate to the emergency. Greater disasters may occur. We shall probably learn that the Mahratta princes have risen against us. We must prepare ourselves for an insurrection in the Punjab—a province which we are always told has been faithful. Nevertheless, if England, instead of being induced to treat these events as merely accidental, casual, and comparatively trifling, will comprehend that the issue at stake is enormous, and the peril colossal, I have not the slightest doubt that a nation so great in spirit and in resources as our own, will prove that it is equal to cope with dangers of even that magnitude. Our perils arise not merely from those who have rebelled against our authority—our dangers spring not alone from the insurrection which may rage in our distant dependencies if we undervalue the gravity of the crisis in which we are placed, our greatest danger will be from ourselves. I may be permitted, therefore, to express my hope and belief, that if, towards the end of this year, a force of sufficient strength is landed on the shores of Hindostan—if that force is guided with the wisdom and energy we have a right to expect—if the measures taken are strong and comprehensive enough for the emergency, we shall be able to vindicate our empire, and shall have an opportunity, of which we may avail ourselves, to lay the foundations of a stable and, I trust, a virtuous government. And allow me to say—and I do it invidiously to no one—that I deeply regret that we do not see the preparation which the occasion seems to justify. I would ask this question, as the subject has been introduced to us, not with reference to the conduct of any political party, but with regard to what at this moment most deeply interests Englishmen—How is it that all this time the navy of England

never appears to have played any part in the measures of preservation to which we have had recourse? We are now told that it is mainly by trailing ourselves of our gunboats that we shall be able to penetrate into the interior, and convey succour to our beleaguered countrymen. But there is not a gun boat in India. I see by the last accounts, that the accidental arrival of a single frigate—the *Shannon*—was hailed with rapture by the inhabitants of Calcutta. Why, there are fifty frigates like the *Shannon* in England. What are they doing? Where are they? Why are they not there? Are they cleaning their decks, and squaring their yards? But if the casual arrival of a single frigate so much emboldens the authorities of Calcutta, and gives so much hope and encouragement to our European population, I say that is a proof that we ought to have an adequate naval force there, and that there should be gun boats, which might at this moment carry help and relief to our besieged countrymen at Lucknow and Agra. I take this opportunity, therefore, of expressing my hope that the people of this country will convey to those in authority, that at the present conjuncture, while they are ready to support any ministry in any measures which will assert the empire of England, and tend to bring rescue to our suffering countrymen in India, they do expect from any government that this noble disposition shall be wisely taken advantage of, and that the measures devised shall be commensurate with the exigency, and when, at the end of the year, that grand advance into the country takes place which we anticipate, I have no doubt, and I expect, that all that retribution—if I may use the expression—which the solemn necessity of the case requires will be exacted. But I may be permitted to add, that I trust nothing more will be exacted than the necessity of the case does require. The horrors of war need no stimulant. The horrors of war, carried on as the war in India is at present, especially need no stimulant. I am persuaded that our soldiers and our sailors will exact a retribution which it may, perhaps, be too terrible to pause upon. But I do, without the slightest hesitation, declare my humble disapprobation at persons in high authority announcing that, upon the standard of England, 'vengeance,' and not 'justice,' should be inscribed. At this moment, I see by the newspapers that her majesty has issued a proclamation for a day

of solemn fast and humiliation, when she, inviting her people to follow her, will humble herself before the Almighty, acknowledge her sins and those of her people, and express her belief that, in the existence of those sins, some cause of these terrible calamities may be found. Now, how inconsistent it is for us, as a great and good people, to obey commands so earnestly communicated to us by our sovereign, to talk of fasts and humiliations, and at the same time announce that in the conduct of our foes we are to find the model for our own behaviour. I, for one, protest against taking Nana Sahib as a model for the conduct of the British soldier. I protest against meeting atrocities by atrocities. I have heard things said, and seen them written of late, which would make me almost suppose that the religious opinions of the people of England had undergone some sudden change, and that instead of bowing before the name of Jesus, we were preparing to revive the worship of Moloch. I cannot believe that it is our duty to indulge in such a spirit. I think that what has happened in India is a great Providential lesson, by which we may profit, and if we meet it like brave and inquiring men we may assert our dominion, and establish for the future in India a government which may prove not once lasting and honourable to this country. I hope that the clergy of our church, on the occasion that is impending, will seize the opportunity afforded them, while they support the spirit of the people by the consciousness of the Divine assistance, to impress at the same time on the national mind that this is a Christian country, and that the character of a Christian warrior is not only to be brave, but to be merciful."

The proclamation alluded to by the honourable gentleman, appeared in a supplement to the *London Gazette* of Friday, September 25th, and ran as follows:—

**VICTORIA II.**—We taking into our most serious consideration the grievous mutiny and disturbances which have broken out in India, and putting our trust in Almighty God that He will graciously bless our efforts for the restoration of lawful authority in that country, have resolved and do by and with the advice of our Privy Council hereby command that at a public day of solemn fast, humiliation and prayer, be observed throughout those parts of our united kingdom called England and Ireland on Wednesday, the 7th day of October next, that so both we and our people may humble ourselves before Almighty God in order to obtain pardon of our sins and in the most devout and solemn manner send up our prayers and supplications to the Divine Majesty for

imploping His blessing and assistance on our arms for the restoration of tranquillity, and we do strictly charge and command that the said day be reverently and devoutly observed by all our loving subjects in England and Ireland as they tender the favour of Almighty God and, for the better and more orderly solemnising the same we have given directions to the most reverend the archbishops and the right reverend the bishops of England and Ireland to compose a form of prayer suitable to this occasion to be used in all churches, chapels and places of public worship and to take care the same be timely dispersed throughout their respective dioceses.

'Given at our court at Balmoral, this 24th day of September in the year of our Lord 1857, and in the 21st year of our reign."

A similar proclamation was also issued for Scotland, and in all parts of the United Kingdom the day was observed with a solemnity befitting the occasion.

On Sunday, the 27th of September, a pastoral letter from Cardinal Wiseman was read in all Roman Catholic places of worship in the metropolis, on the subject of the mutinies, directing that the following Sunday should be set apart by the faithful as a day of humiliation and prayer. After briefly referring to the recent war with Russia, and to the prayers of the church in that season of peril, his eminence proceeded thus:—"And now so soon again we have to invite you to call aloud to the God of mercies that He would spare us the afflicting and harrowing scenes which have been, and are, probably, still acted on our own territories, of which those possibly dear to us, at least our own people, are the victims, and that He would once more give back order and quiet rule to the great continent of India. Who will attempt to describe the terrible calamity which has overwhelmed us? 'Behold a little cloud came out of the sea like a man's foot,' and while he who beheld it 'turned himself this way and that way, behold the heavens grew dark with clouds and wind, and there fell a great rain,' not, alas! of refreshing waters but of gore in battle, and blood in massacre. For truly, had it been merely war with its usual array of evils that we had to deplore, had there been suddenly commenced the conflict of brave men in honourable warfare, it would have been enough to sadden us, and to direct our thoughts to supplications for peace. But here it has been the sudden rising of an immense army, subject, as much as our troops at home, to the crown of this realm—armed, trained, clothed, and fed by the power which there represents it; their rising by conspiracy, which has silently and

darkly included tens of thousands, to break out openly like a plague in separated spots, under one law of cruel perfidy and treacherous brutality. Almost without exception, as you all have learnt, regiment after regiment has murdered the officers who had led them to battle, and who trusted in their fidelity, till the volley was fired or the thrust was made which laid at the feet of cowards those who, living, had made them brave. For, transformed by that deed of treachery from soldiers into assassins, these hordes of savage mutineers seem to have cast aside the commonest feelings of humanity, and to have not merely resumed the barbarity of their ancient condition, but borrowed the ferocity of the tiger in his jungle; to torture, to mutilate, to agonise, and to destroy. Nay, if we had imagined to ourselves the unchecked excesses of fiendish fury by which legions of demons let loose against a tribe accursed of God would have marked their progress of devastation, the picture would have fallen short of what has been perpetrated, in a land that we called our own, and thought we had blessed with earthly happiness, in those whom many around us know,

whom some near us may have tenderly loved."

In reference to the collections to be made, his eminence said—"As the priests who have generously offered to go as chaplains to the seat of war are allowed nothing for outfits, or for the provision of things necessary for religious worship, beyond a most inadequate salary, and it is known that several religious communities have lost their all, the proceeds of the collection will be in part applied to meet their wants; but should your particular charity enable us to go beyond these special wants, any surplus will be thrown into the general subscription for the relief of the distress in India." The different religious bodies in England, unconnected with the state church, also set apart the day indicated by the royal proclamation for solemn observance, and collections in aid of the Relief Fund, and a committee of the general assembly of the church of Scotland, sanctioned a gathering throughout their several presbyteries for the like purpose. In every case, the appeal made to the sympathies and liberality of the people, was nobly responded to by the whole nation."

\* Throughout the world, but two instances of a contrary spirit were recorded; and the one fact, as stated in the city article of the Times of October 3rd, 1857, is an exceptional and anti-national, as to deserve notice here. The passage is as follows—"A large meeting principally of Irishmen, was held at New York on the evening of the 17th (September) to express opposition to British enlistments in the United States for the war in India and sympathy with the sepoy mutiny." The second instance of a carping cavilling spirit, in the midst of a generous enthusiasm which it seemed to be the latest object of some peculiar minded individuals to suppress was found in a column of the *Daily News* of October 6th, 1857 where it is stated, that "in a letter from Rome dated September 20th Archbishop Cullen states, that he has heard with much pleasure of the movement in Ireland for 'the relief of our fellow countrymen who have been reduced to misery by the dreadful and wide-spread revolution now raging in India and menacing the safety of the British empire.' He urges the necessity of inquiry on the part of Roman Catholics, before appeals are made regarding the subscription in order to ascertain 'how the fund about to be raised is to be managed and whether there is any danger that it may be applied by bigots to proselytising purposes.' He refers to the movement for the Patriotic Fund in 1831 in which he says, Roman Catholics subscribed generously, according to their means; but, subsequently, applications from Roman Catholic clergymen in favour of the widows and orphans of soldiers killed in the Crimea, were not attended to, and 'when relief was granted in Dublin a parson was always employed to administer it.' He states that very large grants, including one of £160,000 were made from the Patriotic Fund to Protestant institutions in England;

and, he adds 'not a shilling voted, it would appear, to give a catholic education to catholic orphans.' Is this justice? Would it not have been a source of bitter affliction to the Irish catholic soldier, dying on the shores of the Black Sea, had he known that his children would be exposed to be robbed of that faith which he valued more than life? Dr Cullen thus concludes—"I am most anxious that everything possible should be done to relieve the sufferers in India let us, however, have some security that the funds collected will not be applied to the foundation of protestant asylums for the perversion of poor catholic orphans. The management of the Patriotic Fund shows how necessary it is for us to be cautious. It appears to me that the proper time for coming to a far understanding about these matters, is before any fund is collected." This most questionable and ungracious interference provoked a spirited remonstrance from Lord St. Leonards who had been chairman of the Patriotic Fund alluded to and who, in the Times of October 7th addressed the editor thus—"I have just read with much surprise and regret the contents of a letter in your journal of this morning (October 5th), written by Archbishop Cullen dated from Rome, and addressed to one of his vicars-general with the object, as it seems, of inducing Roman Catholics to withhold their aid from the Relief Fund for the sufferers in India. If he really believes that there is danger that the fund may be applied 'by bigots to proselytising purposes,' his better course would be to raise by the subscriptions of Roman Catholics, a separate fund for the relief of the sufferers of their own persuasion in that respect following apparently the example of a higher authority in the Roman Catholic church. But could anything be more unwise? Is this a moment to add a drop to the cup of bitterness

A remarkable proof of the hallucination that prevailed in the Court of Directors up to this period, is presented in an address by Mr. J. P. Willoughby, a member of the court, and representative in parliament for the borough of Leominster—delivered at a meeting of his constituents, on the 16th of October, when the honourable gentleman, speaking authoritatively in his twofold capacity, said—"I cannot agree with those who view this revolt as a national one. I see no indication of its being a general movement on the part of the people, rising against misgovernment, oppression, and wrong. The masses of the population are with us, the industrial, the agricultural, the commercial classes are all on our side, and, even in the neighbourhood of warlike operations, the resources of the country are at our command. Look, too, at the native chiefs and princes, who, with an insignificant exception, are all on our side, and have given us the readiest help. Both princes and people have shown, by their conduct, that they respect our character and value our rule. The revolt, then, is a purely military one, confined to a portion of our army only, though certainly a large portion. The first act of the mutineers was to release from goal some 11,000 or 12,000 criminals, and those were joined by that miscreant Nana Sahib, and the scum of the population (such as may be found in every large town in every large country), and these are the only elements arrayed against us. The Bengal army being ripe for revolt, I consider that greased

cartridges were the immediate cause of the rising—made use of by designing men, because it united the Mohammedans and the Hindus in a common cause. But let me not be misunderstood. Although I think it very probable that this was made the pretext for rebellion, I firmly believe that many who were otherwise loyal soldiers, were seduced from their allegiance by this means, and were really made to believe that the use of these cartridges was to be forced upon them to destroy their religion. In fact, there seems to have been a delusion almost amounting to insanity, which no effort on the part of the authorities could possibly have prevented. Many are the causes to which the rebellion has been attributed—the conduct of European officers, the centralization of authority, depriving commanding officers of the power of reward or punishment, the unwise abolition of corporal punishment in the native army, while it remained as a custom in the European army, on the plea that it would interfere to prevent high caste men from entering into the army. Some, again, say that it was a movement against the missionaries, but I am happy to say that, neither in private nor official sources, is there the slightest trace that such was the case. Another party, taking a political view of the case, say that these terrible events originated in the yearning of the Mussulmans to recover their lost dominion, but whether that yearning excited the revolt, or whether the revolt excited the yearning, does not appear

between the two churches? The heart of every man beats warmly in favour of our suffering and brave soldiers and fellow subjects in India without reference to creed. I cannot believe that any subscriber has considered whether his donation will relieve a protestant or a Roman Catholic. The Sultan of Turkey has set us an example in his magnificent subscription on which may make us Christians ashamed of insisting upon differences between our churches as a ground for not subscribing to the general fund. Roman Catholics equally with protestant blood has been freely shed with a noble daring in defence of our sovereignty in the East. Christians of all denominations have suffered torture and death in the most savage forms, and the object of the subscribers is to alleviate the sufferings of those who survive. It is treason to humanity to suppose that the fund will not be honestly dedicated to the sacred purposes for which it is designed. As to the distribution of the Patriotic Fund his lordship says—Archbishop Cullen then states that when relief was granted in Dublin a parson was always employed to administer it; and he had heard that he generally selected a protestant church or vestry as the place of doing it out. I never heard during the many months of my attendance on the

does of my office as chairman of the committee any complaint of the manner of the distribution, and the payments were made by the paymasters of pensions wherever their services could be obtained and always so as to meet the convenience of the claimants as far as might be. Dr. Cullen then refers to the manner in which the funds were ultimately allotted and he says that they seem to be all grants to protestant institutions and for protestant purposes. This only proves that Dr. Cullen is wrong from Rome upon a subject dear to England and Ireland in regard to which he is ill informed. At every step care has been taken to extend the same relief to the widows and children of Roman Catholics as to those of protestants. But while religious belief forms no element in the claim to relief due regard has been paid to the religious feelings and education of the Roman Catholics. If the charge of unfair conduct in regard to relief from the Patriotic Fund should be persisted in it may be found necessary to enter more particularly into facts in order to vindicate the conduct of the committee which up to this moment, has never been impeached—I have the honour to be Sir, your obedient servant,

St. LEONARDS

Boyle Farm October 5th

At all events, it is perfectly clear that such a feeling does exist; but still this could only be a partial cause, or it would be impossible to account for the fact that the Mussalman princes and population exhibited very little sympathy for the mutineers. By others the revolt is attributed to what is called the annexation policy. I do not think that is the case, because those affected most by that policy have not joined the movement. There is one other cause assigned, to which I would allude—that the East India Company have neglected their duty of civilising the natives. This is a large and wide question, but I think that, while it is our duty to abstain from direct interference with the conversion of natives to Christianity—that while, on the one hand, we are bound by treaties and acts of parliament to tolerate their forms of worship, so long as they are not opposed to public morals; on the other hand, I think it is our duty openly to avow our Christian faith, and, by precept and example, to show that we are a Christian nation, acting upon Christian principles. What we have now to look for is the punishment of those who have so grossly betrayed their trust, the liberal reward of those who have assisted us, particularly those who have befriended our countrymen and countrywomen in their distresses. We shall have to reorganise our military force, which no doubt must in the main be dependent upon European arms, assisted by native troops, for it will be impossible to perform all the duties by Europeans. By a judicious mixture of the two, such a force may be maintained as will prevent, for the future, the danger from which I hope we have now almost escaped. In the next session of parliament, the subject will, doubtless, be *amply and fully discussed*, and I hope the great conservative party will approach the subject—then which none can be of more interest, both to England and India—in a calm and dispassionate spirit, determined to do only what is best for India, and to avenge without destroying. That is the principle we have acted upon, and will act upon.”

The opinion of this honourable gentleman, and his co-directors in Leadenhall street, so far as they were individually represented in his address, was certainly not that of persons whose perceptions of fact were unobscured by official ignorance, but among other authorities who took an active part in the general effort to throw

light upon the subject, the member for Worcester, the Right Hon. Sir John Parrington, in a speech addressed to his constituents on the 2nd of October, observed that, in his opinion, the people of England could not at that crisis commit a greater folly than to shut their eyes to the magnitude of it. He thought that the greatest fault that the government had committed—and here he spoke of the government of India rather than of her majesty's ministers in this country—had been in underrating the magnitude of the rebellion, and in speaking of it as only a military mutiny, and a passing outbreak which would speedily be subdued. They might depend on it this was not a mere passing military mutiny. He believed that, instead of its being a mere military mutiny, it was a deeply-organised, long matured conspiracy, with the object of exterminating the English in India. In this aspect they ought to view it, and in viewing it in this aspect was our greatest safety. His advice to the country was don't let us underrate the danger, but let us meet it in the spirit of Englishmen determined to subdue it. The view which he took of the state of affairs—gloomy and anxious as he admitted it to be—was a sanguine feeling of ultimate success. As to the actual importance of the movement, he founded his opinion of the fact on a private letter received a few days since from his excellency the governor of Ceylon (Sir Henry George Ward), who said we had great reason to be thankful that the matter was not worse than it is. The governor of Ceylon—from which island almost the first external aid reached the governor general—wrote, that we in England had hardly yet a full conception of the danger which we had escaped, for that India had been saved by the premature outbreak at Meerut. In another fortnight, had not that outbreak taken place, there would have been a simultaneous massacre of all the Europeans in India. And his correspondent used this remarkable expression—that “be verily be lieved there would not have been a European left to tell the tale.” We had been saved that danger by the premature outbreak at Meerut. India had not been governed as it ought to have been. It was only yesterday that he had submitted to the astonished eyes of a large party in a country house, official proof that, in collecting the revenues of India, there had been practised in the name of England—he would not say by the



upon us—our women outraged, our churches burnt, and thousands of native Christians massacred on our account—we all feel that this cause is our own. We cannot leave it in the hands of an invisible authority. The religious questions alone are of that interest that, once set on foot, they will agitate the whole British people. We may or may not be hypocrites and fanatics; but a notion which spends many hundred thousands a year in the attempt to spread the gospel all over the earth, and that annually sends out hundreds of devoted young men to the work, will, in fact, no longer endure that Christians should be actually discouraged, and all but prohibited under some circumstances, throughout a vast country which we call our own, and which is under our laws. The difficulties of satisfying our own sense of truth and duty without a too violent interference with the native superstitions and delusions, are not to be overlooked, but the British people are too much impressed with the truth and importance of their faith, and the responsibility devolving on its holders, not to allow it at least fair play. There is a universal conviction in the British people, that the real enemies of their faith in India are not only the votaries of impudent imposture or ridiculous mythology. We have to contend against various policies which use these things for weapons—against an immense amount of mere unbelief, and perhaps the still more serious obstacle of low Christian morals, but these are matters of which the British people is now fully cognizant, and it will not desire its convictions against them. We are aware that, in the management of such a country as India, there must be much policy of a sort which recoils from popular agitation and open discussion. Nor, indeed, are we advocating a more public and responsible management of Indian affairs, as if it were a matter that rested on advocacy, and was before a tribunal. If any dependence is to be placed on the deep interest everywhere excited, on the strong opinions everywhere expressed, and the ready echo given to those opinions, the matter is past advocacy and tribunals. It is already resolved on, and when parliament reassembles it will treat the subject with as little reserve, and with as direct an appeal to the responsibility of the minister, as if it were a purely domestic question. Nothing can now undo the hold which India has, at last, taken on the minds of the people, or disabuse that people of the

belief that the question is their own. How far that interference will be pushed will depend on the success of our arms and the prosperity of India under the existing forms of administration, but no substantial obstacle will be allowed to interpose between India and England, that does and suffers so much for her. No minister will be permitted to throw on the shadow of a company or on board the responsibility of measures or neglects in which we are all as deeply concerned as in the welfare of our own metropolis. No doubt, such a state of public feeling, if not otherwise satisfied, would lead eventually to the immediate assumption of India by the British crown, and its administration by a secretary of state, like any other crown dependency. We are not now advocating any constitutional change, and are not called on to answer any objection. We are only pointing out the fact that British opinion has now taken possession of Indian affairs, and will henceforth be content with nothing short of a direct voice upon them."

The generous spirit that had been evoked by the sufferings of our fellow countrymen in India, was not confined to mere monetary contributions. A desire to avenge the nameless indignities to which English men and women, and even children, had been and still were subjected, animated all classes with a desire to aid in inflicting punishment upon their cowardly and vindictive persecutors. The militia of the country, as they were severally called out for embodiment, almost without exception offered themselves for service in India. The royal Lancashire militia artillery, and the regiment of Renfrewshire militia, to a man, had the honour of showing the example of patriotism to their brother volunteers, and the lack of men with strong arms and stout hearts, to inflict retributive justice upon the murderers in India was among the least of the difficulties of government.

And it was not surprising such should be the case, for the spirit of the nation had been roused, and one universal cry for vengeance upon the murderers of the innocent and the defenceless echoed over the country. At length, the very exuberance of the feeling produced a partial reaction, and voices were heard pleading for moderation, and excusing, where they could not be denied, the perpetration of acts by which the name of sepoy had become synonymous with that of fiend incarnate. Persons were found

who, personally unaffected by the wrongs of others, took upon themselves, in the name of humanity and justice, to deny the facts upon which this popular indignation was based, and, where denial was impossible, endeavoured to argue down the otherwise unassailable proofs. These advocates for overstrained humanity denounced the universal cry for justice, and denied that wrongs had been inflicted which could warrant the intervention of other than ordinary means for repressing them. The terrible details of outrage and suffering that each succeeding mail had brought to this country, were declared to be for the greater part utter fabrications, or wild and malicious exaggerations. With such people it was impossible to hold an argument: they had taken their stand upon some imaginary platform whence they could descry the track of the revolt as it ravaged society in India, and from that point of view only would they recognise the right to deal with wretches whose acts had divested them of every claim to mercy at the hand of man. It is possible that, under the exciting phases of the sepoy revolt, public indignation might have led to dangerous excess, had the perpetrators of the wrong been near at hand, but the effort to throw a cloak of palliation over the crimes of the native army of Bengal, was an error which, if encouraged, would ultimately have arrested justice in its career, and inflicted an indelible stain upon the European character. Englishmen are constitutionally humane to the weak and wretched, and, indeed, to all of whom there is still hope of amendment, and whose actions can possibly be deemed to have exceeded their intentions, but humanity is not justice when it is strained on behalf of those who exhibit in their actions a deep-seated depravity, or when it is applied to the treacherous, and to those who have practised refinements of cruelty, or outraged the defenceless and the young. Popular feeling has been sometimes misdirected, and unjustly severe, but benevolence and forgiveness of injury have also flowed in mistaken channels, and it was a grand mistake to endeavour to persuade the world that it could be the duty of Englishmen to be humane where humanity would be wasted, and where the offenders, by their own ruthless acts, were placed beyond the pale of humanity, such as were the perpetrators of the atrocities that distinguished the early days of the war of the revolt.

This view of strict uncompromising justice, might be very properly applied as well to the mutineers collectively, as to every individual of them, unless he could prove himself an exception, for, as a general rule, wherever the mutineers had had the power they had murdered women and children. It certainly did occur that, in some few cases, parties of the insurgents, or individual sepoys, or native servants, had warned the Europeans of danger, and at the risk, and even cost of their own lives, had led men, women, and children to a place of safety, knowing the certain fate of such persons if they should fall into the hands of the general body of their confederates, but it must be remembered, that if, in some cases, a regiment or company sent off their officers and families unharmed, the act was an isolated one, and contrary to orders, for the instructions from the head quarters of the conspiracy, as proved by letters intercepted in all parts of India, were to destroy with the European officer (or sallow), his wife and children, and it is also to be observed, that at the time of each successive act of mutiny, it was known how the European women and children had been treated elsewhere. The massacres of Delhi, Jhansie, and Cawnpore, with all their atrocities, were matters of notoriety before the bulk of the Bengal army had joined the cause committed to such horrible excesses, and it was this deliberate consent and ready complicity in the most abominable deeds, that had removed those who joined the cause out of the reach of pardon: it was justification enough that they had made common cause with the perpetrators. From such men nothing was to be expected but a repetition of similar crimes at the first safe opportunity, and it was not doubted that the men who had once played false to their rulers, and exercised their foul malignity upon defenceless victims, would ever after be lurking after such opportunity to repeat their excesses. Upon the whole, as time wore on, Englishmen, generally, became disposed to regard the outbreak as a great providential opportunity of showing to the Hindoos that they also had a caste—but that it was a caste of nature and of humanity. It is true that, for a time, they came to regard all who were ever so remotely compromised in the crimes of May and June, 1857, as fallen below the level of humanity—degraded to a low class of brutes, and fit only to be knocked on the head or crushed under the feet, and all of them

authority, but he feared not without the knowledge of Englishmen—there had been practised tortures little less horrible than those which we now deplored. This must be borne in mind in the day of reckoning, and in dealing with this question, let them bear in mind these two great cardinal objects—first, that, as a great nation, we must re-establish the authority of the sovereign in India, and, secondly, that when that authority is re-established India must be better governed.

Of the vast importance of the rebellious movement then in action, Lord Ellenborough, who, from his antecedents in connection with Hindostan, was specially entitled to attention when referring to the people over whom he had held rule as governor general, distinctly stated his view of the struggle as being one for the dismemberment of the empire, by an address to the yeomanry and farmers in the vicinity of his estates, in which he urged reasons for their assistance in bringing the country through the difficulties that surrounded it. In this document the noble earl said—"You may not have looked into all the details of what has taken place in India, but you must know this—that we have there a great war forced upon us by rebels who would deprive all our countrymen of their lives, and England of an empire, that where we placed our confidence we have been met with treachery, where we acted with kindness we have encountered murder—murder, not directed only against men by whom resistance might be made, and from whom wrongs might have been feared, but extending equally to unoffending, helpless women—to the children at their knees, and to the infants at their breasts—sparing none, and often inflicting death with torture upon the body where it had already more cruelly tortured the mind. We have seen there, in almost every instance of mutiny, one general deliberate design, not only to deprive us of the dominion we have so long held with honour, but to place us, as a people, under circumstances of outrage and of indignity, which, if we submit to them, must render us in the eyes of all living men, and of all future generations, a despised and degraded race. Will you submit to this? You will say you never will—you will have redress and vengeance. We will say nothing about vengeance, that belongs only to a higher power, but to punish crime so signally as to deter all hereafter from its commission,

and to vindicate our sovereign authority—this is no doubt our right, and it is our duty."

After pointing out the necessity for strengthening the hands of government by voluntary enlistment for the militia, which would enable the authorities to avail themselves of disciplined regiments from the home stations, for service in India, Lord Ellenborough continued—"I ask you only to do what I know you can do, and what I feel you ought to do, for the assistance of the country in this critical juncture of our affairs. It is impossible to over estimate its importance. There is nothing man holds dear for which we have not now to fight. If we should not bear ourselves manfully in the contest thus forced upon us—if we should not succeed in it, we must be content, not only to lose the noblest empire in the world, but to make the name of Englishmen a by-word of shame among nations. The wives and daughters of our countrymen have been publicly violated, their children have been put to death with circumstances of cruelty surpassing all we read of in history as the punishments inflicted by God upon the offending Jews. It has not been deemed sufficient to destroy us. We were first to be dishonoured, and this in a country through which we have proudly—perhaps too proudly—stalked as conquerors for a hundred years. Do you suppose that, if we could submit to this in India we should not be threatened with it in England? Do you imagine that the great military powers of Europe, always prepared for war, offended by our pride, resentful of our former victories, and coveting our present wealth, would long permit us to enjoy in peace the luxuries we cling to, and the dreams of irresistible strength in which we fatuously indulge? Be assured that if, under the strongest necessity ever imposed upon a people, we do not rise as one man to vindicate our national honour, and to re-establish our Indian empire, the horrors we read of with shuddering as perpetrated at Meerut and at Delhi, will not for ever be averted from our island home."

Amidst the conflict of opinions arising from the adverse views taken by public men of the cause and progress of the Indian revolt, and of the means to be adopted for re-establishing British authority in the revolted districts, the state of the home institutions connected with the government of India, became a theme of frequent

discussion about the end of November, and rumours were current of a change in the direction of the Board of Control, by the removal of Mr. Vernon Smith, who was to be raised to the peerage, and to be succeeded in his office as president of the Board, by Sir Charles Wood, or Sir James Graham, both of whom were named for the important office which, it scarcely need be observed, neither of them was destined to occupy. The question of double government had been raised, and the defects of the system under which a vast section of the British dominions had gradually attained colossal proportions, and was now shaken to its foundations, became so impressively forced upon public attention, that an entire revision of the whole polity by which India had been held, could no longer be resisted. Public meetings, convened under influential and able auspices, were held in the metropolis and in the provinces, to take into consideration the system of divided government, which it was now very generally believed was incompatible with the welfare of that portion of the empire, and ought therefore to be abolished. At one of these meetings, presided over by Viscount Bury, M.P., Mr. Roebuck, M.P. for Sheffield, after declaiming at great length, and with much force of language, against the existing rule of government, moved a resolution to the following effect:—"That the system of the double government of India, as tested by the results of its administration, has proved alike incompatible with the welfare and happiness of our fellow subjects in that country, and with the safety and commercial prosperity of the British empire, and, therefore, that with a view to secure our national interests, and also to raise the moral and social condition of the people of India, to develop their resources, and to give them protection for person and property, it is expedient that there be established for India a responsible form of government in the name of the crown, under which all abuses may be checked by the control of the people of England, exercised through their representatives in the House of Commons."

Resolutions, similar in effect, were adopted in numerous places throughout the United Kingdom, and it now became apparent that what is styled "public opinion" was earnestly directed in Indian affairs, and had taken them in hand. Every one—from John O'Grat's House to the Land's End—had

something to say about the Indian mutiny; and everybody with common sense, common feeling, and common intelligence, was interested to, even though his information was but scant, and his personal interest in the subject imperceptible. It was enough that his theme was India, and his avowed object to tear the veil from the face of that mysterious and irresponsible duality in which it was governed. So long as that extraordinary embodiment of power, which actually governed India, contrived to keep things quiet out there, the result was accepted as a defence of what was otherwise indefensible. But that ground had now vanished—the spell was broken, and every British eye was directed to that one region, while every heart was strung, and every hand was extended to the rescue of the victims of a catastrophe for which the double government was wholly held responsible. "Within these two years," observed the *Times* of October 10th, "we have had a new government at home, not only a new government, but a new constitution for India—a new governor general, new commanders-in-chief, indeed, everything new, except mutinous sepoy regiments and incapable British commandants—the only fixtures in the matter. Further, there certainly is a remarkable difficulty in getting to the bottom of Indian controversies. You meet a dozen Indians in succession, and they are all equally positive, but utterly at variance. One is a civilian, the other a soldier, one in the Bengal army, another in the Bombay, one is a Queen's officer, another a Company's officer in the line, another has had to do chiefly with irregulars of one sort or another, lower down you have an indigo planter with his views of Indian affairs, then comes a clergyman or a missionary, then a high caste native gentleman from Calcutta, then a Parsee merchant. Every one of these smiles, and is positive, looks grave, but smothered in his bosom the fire of some rankling grievance, or some endless controversy. No, unless we intend to pursue our investigations till we come to the earth on the elephant, and the elephant on the tortoise, and the tortoise on a fish, we had better look forward, not backward, in this momentous question."

"But the question henceforth is an English one. With the honour of our country so deeply compromised as it now is—with 85,000 of our countrymen there fighting our battle—with results of every kind heaped

objects of detestation and contempt. It was perhaps only proper and useful, with a view to the future schooling of the Indian mind, to mark in every way the disgust engendered by their acts, their authors and abettors, and to impress upon the Hindoo and Mussulman fanatics that if they considered it their bounden duty to extirpate Christians, their wives and children—their conquerors also considered it their rational duty, and positive necessity, to extirpate in turn every wretch who held such doctrine.

The question of Christianity in India, became, about the end of the year, a fruitful theme of discussion on platforms, and by the press. By some, the duty of converting the heathen at all cost, and at any risks, was held as a point of faith that it would be an abnegation of Christianity to neglect. By others, any such interference with the religious prejudices of a people was denounced as impolitic, tyrannical, and dangerous. It would be impossible, within the limits of the present work, to give even a tithe of the arguments adduced in favour of either view of the subject, but one of, if not the most rational, contribution to the general fund of discussion, was embodied in a letter published in the *Times* of October 21st, under the initials "S G O," in which the writer observes—"I do not think this country will ever endure that we should either assault the faith of the natives of India, as if it were a thing to be taken by storm, or by any means savouring of bribery, seek to buy over to our own views those who are, in belief, opposed to us. But I trust never again to see the day when Christian rule is to work, so far as it is Christian, behind a veil, lest it should shock the prejudices of its subjects, and may the sun never again rise on the day which shall see Christian rulers sanctioning in any way whatever the public performance of 'rites' not only revolting to our own faith, but to all that is held to be decent by any one civilised nation! I may be told, as I have been, that many of our greatest men have, and some still do, without concealment, frequent public assemblies of the fondest character, met for the worst of purposes, if so, the nation does not find them 'sentinels' at the doors. Fashion has sanctioned many an outrage on our faith, but has not yet dared to ask for the trumpets of our troops to do honour to our contempt of our Maker.

'Exped ency in India has, I fear, run riot,

and we now, in the judgments of our Deity, read His will as to temporising with the worship of other deities. I have read with attention the *pros* and *cons* of this Indian religious question. I can see the difficulty that besets it, but I only see it when I at the same time see that the question is one which, as such, cannot for one moment be entertained. All the fog through which we labour so hard to penetrate, seems to me to be in itself a creation of our own. Once admit that you are to rule a nation with any sacrifice of what is due to your own faith, and you are lost in the mist of how much sacrifice! If you are to strike a bargain between God and Moloch, who is to be the umpire to decide the justice of the terms? When truth begins concession to error, even in small details, does it not cease to be truth? I am, then, of those who hold that, for no purpose whatever, is English rule in India to concede aught of its Christian character which it would not concede in England. God forbid that we should proselytise by the sword! Let those who rule, give to the teacher of the true faith liberty to teach in India, subject only to such laws as shall not hinder his object, but only restrain him from any clearly improper attempts at its attainment. Let the life of every native be as the life of one of our own people—that for which he may claim our protection. We must not seek to put down falsehood by force, but we are bound to forbid all who hold the truth to lend falsehood any aid. There will come a time when idolatry must yield to the gospel, it is for the ruler to wait that time, not to confound mere power with truth, but ever to let power be on its side—never on the side of error.

"I wonder not that the sepoy has no reverence for our faith, for though he may know something of it as a thing of 'a book,' as a thing of great 'profession'—though he may have seen some consistent to it, what a picture has he seen in the many, and among that multitude, how many have been his immediate rulers? I believe there is no part of her majesty's dominions which has, from time to time, given to God truer, better servants than India, but who does not know that there is yet a very dark side to the picture—that those to whom the natives should have looked, as from their position planted to be lights on a hill, to shine to God's glory, have yet in their unconcealed profligacy, been a disgrace to that very faith

the Hindoo was to be led to think so much purer than his own

"These, sir, are days of what is called 'muscular Christianity,' there is a great moral hustling going on—school fust, pulpit fust, platform and post prandial fust, all aiming at man's good. There is a wonderful development of the 'hiceps,' but somehow the nervous strong stroke has yet to be given. Sin is as rampant, as well, and as foully dressed as ever. This said 'muscular Christianity,' to my poor understanding, is simply paralysed for want of Christ, for want of His teaching, guidance, and spirit, and this appears to be the hat thing sought, as it is the very first thing on which success must depend."

Among the multitude of suggestions of all kinds that were urged upon the home government, as well as upon those of the three presidencies at this period, was one immediately connected with the important subject of the reconstruction of the native army, which commanded serious attention. By the promoters of the idea, it was estimated that a body of at least 25 000 troops might at once be raised from the native Christians, who had hitherto been excluded from military service by the trucklog of the authorities to the bigotry and prejudices of the Mussulman and Hindoo sepoys, and it was also presumed that the number might fairly be doubled, if the accounts of the missionaries as to the success of the r labours, were to be relied on. If the published records of the preceding thirty years, in connection with those labours, were correct, there were almost as many boys at Christian schools at the beginning of that period, as would have made up the number in the last generation, so that it was not considered extravagant to assign the presumed number of 50,000 as a procurable number of adults fit for military service, if the ordinary rules with regard to stature were dispensed with. It was admitted that the government had always manifested an absolute repugnance to recruit amongst the Christian population, and that no native Christian could be received into any Bengal regiment—it being even necessary that any occasional converts should leave the service. It was also asserted, that the only safe method of reconstructing the Bengal army, would be by raising regiments of Christians exclusively—a plan which would raise the native Christians in their own esteem, would ensure a constant supply of recruits, and, when the converts should

find themselves treated with as much favour by the British, as they now experience of contempt and persecution from Brahmins and Mohammedans, they would not only be devoted to the service, but would multiply to an extent highly advantageous to the government.

It was observed, in reply to this proposition, that there could be no doubt of obtaining any number of adherents by offering such a premium on religious conversion, and that if there were many converts already, there would be multitudes more on the opening of a new profession to converts, and the springing up of a new fountain of honour and reward, but, it was asked, in the first place, "what sort of Christians would such soldiers be?" The catholic missionaries believed their converts in India to be between three and four hundred thousand, five and thirty years ago, and the converts sincerely believed themselves to form a part of the Christian church; yet, when the troubles of Europe separated them from their teachers, they presently lapsed into a condition which left them only the name of Christians. Evil effects no less conspicuous attended the strifes of protestant sects, under which the converts were left uncertain whether they were really Christians or not. The painful consequences of such strifes hastened the good work of establishing mission schools, and large numbers of the native Christians now speculated on for soldiers, had had the advantage of a training from childhood in those schools, which contained nearly 100 000 pupils in 1855. The great body of the native Christian population was declared to be in the south of the Peninsula, and one conspicuous feature of the missionary policy was shown in fixing their settlements as far as possible from the military stations. They seemed to aim at keeping the military profession as much as possible out of sight and out of mind, and this was not wonderful, if they had any regard for the peace, comfort, and steadfastness of their disciples. To organise Christian regiments, therefore, would be to invert the missionary scheme altogether, to precipitate a religious war, to institute a worse than a state, even a military, religion, to offer sanctions of a worldly and corrupting nature, and to sweep together a host of adventurers hypocrites, and 'ne'er do wells' of all sorts under the desecrated name of the Christian religion. Such men might

be called Christians, but they would more resemble the military apostles of the Koran. Suppose the thing done, however, and a compact army of Christian sepoys organised, drilled, and practised, what could it do that would not be a reversal of the universal toleration of the government of India for a century past? Whatever might be said after the existing result of the policy of universal toleration professed by the rulers of India, it was, and it always had been, a fine spectacle, and one which touched the native heart, to see men of various faiths forming one organisation, and living as brethren in regard to their secular calling, however wide apart they might be in the religious. In the early days of the sepoys, the attachment of the men to their Christian commanders, and the efficacy of followers of all the Asiatic faiths to live and act together professionally, never were doubted by anybody. Moreover, this composite character of our armies had been of infinite use in controlling the religious feuds of the non-military public. During the commotion at Benares, in the autumn of 1813, the sepoys interfered for the restoration of order, just as the Turkish authorities interpose between the Greek and Latin Christians at Jerusalem in the holy week. The Mussulman weavers of Benares destroying Hindoo idols on the one hand, and the Hindoo pilgrims and merchants despoiling Mohammedan cemeteries and burning Mussulman dwellings on the other, were coerced, quietly and effectually, by sepoys of both faiths, in their character of an impartial force, whose duty it was to keep down rebellion against public order. None but a mixed force could have managed Benares at that time, or as long as it was the chief city of pilgrimage, and if, in a few years, it was found as manageable as any other city, it was due to the firmness with which the Christian English enforced regard to the liberties of all by the hands of men of many faiths. It might be said, that there would be no chance of doing such things again, if we had a native Christian force, and the time had passed for having Mohammedan and Hindoo soldiers at all but it was yet more important to consider that, by any such exclusive organisation, we should be generating more commotions, like those old Benares riots. It was assumed that, when once the banner of the faith was made the banner of the regiment,

India would become the theatre of religious wars, which would show how little the world had advanced since the days of the prophet and his first warrior apostles. Looking beyond India, the present time appeared ill adapted for such rashness. There was no haunt of Mohammedans, from metropolitan cities to the wilds of African deserts and islets in the Eastern Archipelago, where there was not existing a portentous stir among the faithful, in the expectation of an approaching complete triumph of the prophet and his religion. In Turkey, the Christians were in anxiety and peril, in Persia, Mussulman arrogance was unbenign. Wherever the Indian news spread, whether discussed in mosques, or propagated by caravans of trade or pilgrimage, the result was adverse to Christianity. To create and rely upon an exclusively Christian soldiery, simply because it would call itself Christian, would be to plunge into an age of religious warfare, before which the crusades would appear but skirmishing bouts, preparatory to a campaign of vital import.

Such were among the arguments against the organisation of an army of Christian converts. There was much to be said on either side to make the ultimate decision a serious matter, and it was felt that, in England, too much consideration could not be given to a proposition which might so vitally affect the constitution of an important arm of its military power in Hindostan.

At length occasion offered for enlightening the British public upon the question, how far the policy of the governor general of India was accordant with the views of the home government. On the 4th of November, at a banquet given at the Mansion-house by the lord mayor, after the presentation of a sword of honour, and the freedom of the city of London, to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, Earl Granville, then president of the council (after eulogising the conduct of Lord Elgin in reference to the Indian difficulty), expressed the opinion of himself and colleagues on the policy of Lord Canning, in the following language:—"There is another noble lord in the East, upon whom has rested a heavier responsibility than has ever been entrusted by any subject of her present majesty. Lord Canning did not, as has sometimes been said, slight office, but when, after careful deliberation on the part of the government, the office of governor general of India had

been offered to him, and when after very mature reflection on his part, he had accepted that office, he proceeded to India, and devoted his admirable habits of business to the promotion of every possible material and social improvement in the great peninsula committed to his charge. A dreadful event happened—one which no one could have anticipated. As soon as that event was known in England, the attention of Englishmen was, I may say, entirely absorbed by the proceedings in India, and from that moment to the present every step taken by the governor general was most anxiously criticised. Sometimes, I must say, his conduct was very fairly weighed, but at other times I think he has been assailed with such wholesale censure and condemnation as it was almost impossible for any one to have deserved. Now, I beg that I may not be misunderstood. I think that no greater misfortune could happen to this nation than that the public acts of public men should not be exposed to the most anxious and severe criticism, and I believe that those who criticise such acts with ability and fairness render the greatest possible service to the community. At the same time there is one short compound word which will always have its effect with the British public—I mean fair play, for, although they like to have public affairs discussed before them in every shape, they postpone their final judgment until they are in possession of all the facts and have heard both sides. A great many accusations have been brought against the government of India. Some of them are of a very trivial character, others depend so entirely upon details and circumstances, of which we know absolutely nothing that I will not allude to them. But there is one charge which has been urged against Lord Canning, and which appears to me one of the gravest charges that could be made against a man in his position—namely, that, giving way to a certain sentimental and maudlin humanity, he has forgotten what was due to justice, and has interfered with those military authorities in whose hands the punishment of the mutineers must mainly rest. Now, upon this point the common sense of the country has fully spoken out. Both public writers and public speakers have done so, and no one, I may say, has laid down more forcibly than the Duke of Cambridge, the doctrine that it would be wrong in every point of view, if condign punish-

ment were not inflicted upon men who have disgraced the human form which they bear. I cannot help remarking, that upon this subject public opinion has been satisfied by a gentleman who is not one of ourselves, and who cannot be supposed to be actuated by excited feelings—I mean the most respected minister of the United States, who, as a disinterested observer, has justly said, that men who have committed crimes which prove them to be the enemies of mankind at large, ought to be extirpated from the face of the earth. I can only say, that if, upon a calm review of the course of Lord Canning's administration, he should appear to have given way to the madlin sentiments to which I have alluded, no feeling of personal friendship would be sufficient to prevent me from expressing, at the earliest opportunity, and in the most public manner, my opinion that he is unworthy of the trust which has been confided to him. I must say, however, I do not fear that my friendship will be put to any such test as that. I can see nothing in the acts of Lord Canning to justify the charges which have been brought against him. I shall refer to one case. The late and much lamented Mr. Colvin, after showing great energy and admirable judgment in his administration, issued a proclamation offering full pardon to those rebels who should submit at once. Lord Canning immediately reprimanded Mr. Colvin for this proclamation, and directed by telegraph that it should be suppressed, at the same time issuing another of an entirely different tenor. In more than one letter privately addressed to me by Lord Canning he has dwelt upon the 'soreness of heart'—those are his very words—excited by the feeling that retribution has been delayed upon 'devils in human form.' Much stress has been laid upon a proclamation, or rather order, which has been lately issued. Now, I shall give no opinion of my own as to that proclamation, as to whether it was judicious in its substance, or as to the time at which it was issued, but I shall venture to state a few undeniable facts respecting it. The tendency of that direction or proclamation was, that death should be inflicted upon all the guilty, although in some cases, where there were extenuating circumstances, the ultimate penalty should not be at once inflicted, but the strictest injunctions were given to spare none except the really innocent. That order was addressed exclusively to the



civil authorities. It did not give to them one iota of more power than they had before, but merely gave them certain directions as to the exercise of those powers which, by law, they already possessed. The only reference to the military authorities was, that in certain doubtful cases the civil officers should not act themselves, but should hand over their prisoners to the military authorities, to be dealt with by them. I know it may be said, that although this order was addressed to the civil authorities, it was calculated, indirectly, to produce a discouraging effect upon the military authorities. Upon this point I shall give no opinion, but I may refer to one case that has come to my knowledge. I believe there are no two men in India who more fully deserve the confidence of the public than General Wilson and Sir John Lawrence. It appears to me, that General Wilson, while showing the greatest boldness and energy in handling his troops and in maintaining their discipline, is also most careful not to expose them unnecessarily. I believe, also, there is no doubt that Sir J. Lawrence combines the qualities of a soldier and a statesman in a greater degree than, perhaps, any other man in India. But what has been the effect of the proclamation upon these two men? It appears that General Wilson wrote to Sir J. Lawrence a few days before this proclamation was issued, stating that there were certain irregular cavalry whose mode of mutiny had distinguished them from their fellows, and that it would be most expedient and politic that they should be treated with some leniency. General Wilson accordingly asked Sir J. Lawrence whether he himself, or whether Sir J. Lawrence, would be justified in exercising any discretion? Sir J. Lawrence answered in the negative, and said he could not give any authority, that he did not think General Wilson could exercise any discretion, but that, if General Wilson would make a representation at head quarters, it would probably be attended to. Almost immediately after the dispatch of the letter containing this statement, Sir J. Lawrence received the proclamation. He then wrote to General Wilson, and said—'Although the proclamation does not specifically apply to this case, yet its spirit fully justifies you in following out the dictates of sound policy.' And Sir J. Lawrence then went on, in the most clear and eloquent terms, to show, not merely the humanity,

but the sound practical policy of the proclamation. I do not give my own opinion on the subject, although I have formed one, but I do think that the opinions of two such men as these are worthy of consideration by the public of this country, before they come to the conclusion that Lord Canning is a pusillanimous statesman. There is another point which has been very much canvassed in this country—namely, the sending up of Mr. Grant to control the military authorities, and to liberate the mutineers. It is reported that Mr. Grant has liberated 150 mutineers. I have no means of knowing whether that story is true or false, or whether, if that act took place, there were any circumstances which would justify the governor general in sanctioning or in disapproving it. But this I know as a positive fact, that the governor general sent Mr. Grant, not to control the military authorities, or to liberate mutineers or murderers, but, as the lieutenant governor of the North Western Provinces was confined in the fort of Agra, and unable to discharge his civil duties, it was deemed desirable that a *locum tenens* should be provided, and, on that account, Mr. Grant was dispatched to the district. One of the qualifications which Lord Canning believed that Mr. Grant possessed was, that he was fully impressed with the importance of not interfering with the military authorities in the performance of his duties. There is one other point, which has hardly created as much feeling here as in Scotland—I mean the alleged differences between Sir Colin Campbell and Lord Canning. I was rejoiced to hear that his royal highness has received exactly the same information which has reached me, and that the natural and just indignation of the people of Scotland, at their favourite soldier being thwarted by a civilian and what they call a red tapist, is unfounded. I happen to know that, during the few weeks of Sir Colin Campbell's residence in Calcutta, Lord Canning had abundant opportunities of discovering and appreciating his great qualities as a man and a soldier, and I know, also, that Sir Colin Campbell, during the same period, saw reason to admire the indefatigable industry, energy, and courage of Lord Canning as governor general of India, and that a solid friendship has been established between these two men, who entertain feelings of mutual respect and regard. I cannot help mentioning a somewhat trivial circumstance,

but one which shows how cautious we should be in believing rumours that occasionally reach us from India. Sir Patrick Grant, when leaving Calcutta, knowing well the tendency to idle gossip which prevailed among some of his fellow countrymen in that city, particularly when they were excited by any extraordinary alarm, determined that, although it would have been more convenient to him to travel by the public steamer, he would make the voyage in a man of war. He went by a man of war, but the cautious tactics of the old soldier were utterly fruitless, for soon afterwards, there appeared in a portion of the Calcutta press, a detailed account of his excursion in the public steamer, together with a minute report of his conversations with his fellow-passengers, ending with the remark attributed to him, that he never heard a sound so agreeable as the booming of the guns which announced his departure from the land of red tape. With regard to the charge of the want of energy, industry, and decision, brought against Lord Canning, I shall only allude to one or two facts. You are aware that Lord Canning put restrictions upon the press. This is another subject upon which I must avoid expressing any opinion, but I think I may say that that resolution of Lord Canning appeared to meet with general approbation, and was very fairly treated by the public press of this country, notwithstanding the *esprit de corps* which, to a certain degree, might be expected to influence that press on such a subject. Whether right or wrong, it was a step which required great moral courage, and, by its adoption, Lord Canning exposed himself to much personal unpopularity and obloquy. We are bound to consider, that some of the most intelligent men now in India—some of the men most accustomed to wield the pen, and who have the greatest opportunities of conveying their sentiments and opinions to the mother country—are smarting under the very natural feeling, that they have been unjustly treated, both as regards their character and their property. I think, therefore, that some of their statements should be received with due allowance. There is one more fact which I shall venture to bring before you. I think it is one which has not yet been stated, and which all will be glad to hear. It is generally known that the king of Delhi made overtures to the besieging army. Now, it

happens that some of the bravest and most successful military authorities in that part of India, were of opinion, that so great were the difficulties of the siege, those overtures should be entertained. It is easy to say, after the event, what was the right thing to be done, but I submit that, at the moment, it was creditable to the decision and the moral courage of Lord Canning that he sent the most peremptory orders to reject the overtures made by the king of Delhi. I have done with this subject. I think success is not always a test of real merit, but in this instance Lord Canning has collected more troops than it was expected he would be able to assemble, or than it was thought possible, by the highest authority in parliament, he would be able to obtain, and, without physical assistance from the home government, he has 'broken the neck' of one of the most formidable mutinies which have ever occurred in our dominions."

This important and unequivocal testimony to the ability and general policy of Lord Canning's government, by the lord president of her majesty's council, was corroborated and still more forcibly expressed by Viscount Palmerston, the premier, on the 9th of the same month, at a banquet in Guildhall, upon the inauguration of the mayoralty of Alderman Sir Richard Carden. Upon this occasion, his lordship, after paying a deserved tribute to the valour of the troops, and the endurance of those who had suffered by the rebellion in India, said—"While we do justice to the great bulk of our countrymen in India, we must not forget that person who, by his exalted position, stands at the head of our countrymen there. I mean the governor general Lord Canning has shown throughout the greatest courage, the greatest ability, and the greatest resources, and, from the cordiality which exists between him, as head of the civil service, and Sir Colin Campbell, as head of the military service, we may be sure that everything which the combined experience of both can accomplish, will be effected for the advantage of the country. The task of Lord Canning will be indeed a difficult one. He will have to punish the guilty, he will have to spare the innocent, and he will have to reward the deserving. To punish the guilty adequately exceeds the power of any civilised man, for the atrocities which have been committed are such as to be imagined and perpetrated only by demons rallying forth from the

lowest depths of hell 'But punishment must be inflicted, not only in a spirit of vengeance, but in a spirit of security, in order that the example of punished crime may deter from a repetition of the offence, and in order to insure the safety of our countrymen and countrywomen in India for the future. He will have to spare the innocent, and it is most gratifying to know, that while the guilty may be counted by thousands, the innocent must be reckoned by millions. It is most gratifying to us, and honourable to the people, that the great bulk of the population have had no share in the enormities and crimes which have been committed. They have experienced the blessings of British rule, and they have been enabled to compare it with the tyranny exercised over them by their native chiefs. They have had therefore no participation in the attempts which have been made to overthrow our dominion. Most remarkable it is, that the inhabitants of that part of our empire which has been most recently acquired (I mean the Punjab), who have had the most recent experience of the tyranny of their native rulers, have been most loyal on the present occasion, and most attached to their new and benevolent masters. Lord Canning will have also to reward the deserving, for many are they, both high and low, who have not only abstained from taking part in this mutiny, but who have most kindly and generously sheltered fugitives, rescued others from the assaults of the mutineers, and have merited recompense at the hands of the British government. I am convinced, that if Lord Canning receives—as I am sure he will—that confidence on the part of her majesty's government and of the people of this country, without which it is impossible for a man in his high position to discharge the duties which have devolved upon him, it will be found, when this dreadful tragedy is over, that he has properly discharged his duty, and that his conduct has not only been governed by a sense of stern and unflinching justice, but also by that discriminating generosity which is the peculiar characteristic of the British people."

This graceful tribute to the courage and judgment of Lord Canning, in the ordeal through which he was still passing, was no more than he had a right to expect under the extraordinary circumstances that surrounded him, and the undesired censure to which his acts, imperfectly understood,

had been exposed. That he should have been violently attacked was but a natural consequence of the position which his government occupied with respect to the Indian press and the independent Anglo-Indian public. The consequences of some of his acts, by which so much of obloquy had been created, could not yet be fairly measured; but one fact, at least, was in his favour—namely, that hitherto complete success had followed most of his measures. At home his conduct could be viewed with more impartiality than could be expected at the seat of his government, where all the elements of strife and dissatisfaction were in action. He had also the confidence of the government by which he was appointed, and he had painfully acquired experience in his hard and perilous career, and as it was now considered certain, that within a short time the great corporation which had hitherto held India at its feet, would be shorn of political power, and surrender its vast dominions to the immediate control of the British crown and parliament, it was felt that the services of one who had seen and learnt so much as Lord Canning had done, could not be valueless in the establishment of the new order of things.

Among a multiplicity of plans for civilising, Christianising, or Anglicising India, one was suggested which, it was thought likely, might be found a valuable auxiliary to the important work, being at the same time simple and unobjectionable. This consisted in a scheme for reducing the written or printed characters of the Oriental alphabets to the Roman type. Missionaries, and promoters of education in India, had, for a whole generation, been endeavouring to render all the Indian dialects in the same familiar notation, and, as it had now become a manifest necessity that natives should be attracted to the study of English, and that all difficulties which impeded the free intercourse of the governing race with the population, should be as far as possible removed, it became expedient that the government should give its support to any project that would facilitate such a result. The existing difficulty in attaining to a familiar intercourse between the races was not confined to the natives, as many Englishmen who had already acquired a fair colloquial knowledge of the native languages, were unable to overcome the obstacles interposed to a free and familiar intercourse with the people around

them, through their ignorance of the Persian or Sanscrit characters of the various dialects. It was obvious that a very long period must elapse before English could become the official language, but, it was contended, there could be no reason why Hindostani, or Telegoo, should not be rendered intelligible to those by whom the machinery of government had to be kept in motion. In many portions of the Anglo-Indian territory, there were districts, larger than the whole area of Great Britain, which had no written language whatever, and, consequently, there could be no native prejudices in favour of any peculiar type, nor was there any valid reason why the English alphabet should not represent the utterances of the people. A similar experiment had been successfully tried with respect to the Phœnician Arabic alphabet of the Maltese, who were left by their former *laughly masters* to the exercise of a purely oral language. In support of the idea thus broached, it was assumed that the most inveterate prejudice in favour of Indian institutions, would find it difficult to create a grievance out of the introduction of a convenient alphabet for its people, the reading community hearing but a small proportion to the population of the empire, and an Indian education by no means implying a facility of reading fluently at sight. All the natives who were really educated, were already familiar with the English characters, and it was proposed that those who were not so, might be allowed, for a prescribed time, to use their own indigenous varieties of type. Bills of exchange, contracts, and other legal documents, could thus by degrees be brought under the improved system, and the lapse of a single generation would probably consign all the existing native modes of writing to oblivion. It was also urged by the advocates of the change, that, at the age of three or four years, even Hindoos were comparatively exempt from prejudice, and that a child who exercised a choice, would certainly accept, in preference, the easiest alphabet. The mode of introducing the reformed system was proposed to be left to the direction of local administrators. A court, or a public office, could not compel suitors and tax payers, except after a considerable specified interval, to adopt the innovation, but official documents and correspondence might, at an earlier period, furnish examples, and native ingenuity might be em-

ployed in deciphering writings connected with practical interests, and thus, at no very distant period, it was contended, the introduction of the English type would be found a vast convenience to the rulers, and he acknowledged as a valuable boon to all future generations of the ruled.

So much for a step in advance towards civilisation. For Christianising the people, it was resolved, at a public meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in India (which was held at Willis's rooms on the 26th of November, the Archbishop of Canterbury being in the chair), to adopt and carry out the following measures, in furtherance of the important object —

"1. To double (at least) the number of the society's European missionaries in India and to promote, by every available means, the education, training, and ordination of the more advanced native converts for the work of the Christian ministry among their own countrymen.

"2. To found new and strengthen existing missions, in the principal and other principal cities of India wherever there may appear to be the best opening with a view to bring the truths of Christianity before the minds of the upper as well as of the lower classes in those great centres of population.

"3. To press again upon the attention of the Indian government, the urgent necessity of a subdivision of the enormous dioceses of Calcutta and Madras and especially to insist upon the desirability of establishing a bishopric for the Punjab another for the North Western Provinces, and a third for the province of Ameerloo."

At this meeting, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Oxford, advocated, with much earnestness, the objects of the society, and the two latter prelates adduced powerful arguments, illustrated by examples, of the necessity for infusing the spirit of Christianity among the millions subjected to British rule in its Indian territory. The former, after expatiating at some length upon the cruel tendencies of the human heart in a state of paganism, said—"We have seen what heathenism is. Many of us have been brought up with such an admiration of the old classical heathens, that we had almost got to think that a refined heathen was not such a bad sort of man after all. But we now know what a refined heathen is: we know that in a moment he can be transformed into a raging beast, and that, impelled by a spirit of demoniacal wickedness, he can perpetrate deeds of atrocity such as we had vainly imagined the world would never again witness." Again—"We have in every newspaper a true picture of what hea-

thenism is even in this day. And if of heathenism, have we not also a true picture of what Christianity is? What do you think it has been that has nerved these few Europeans to such extraordinary acts of daring, of self sacrifice, and of heroic endurance? I believe that the high spirits of young men, and their bold soldierlike daring, may account for much, but these do not account for such quiet endurance in the midst of awful trials such as human nature never witnessed before. Talk of Roman matrons and Roman maidens! we henceforth shall talk of English matrons and English maidens. We know how, under circumstances to which it was impossible to suppose they would ever be exposed, they have risen superior to every attempt to degrade, every attempt to terrify them, and as long as the world lasts, the memory of these mothers and daughters of England will be revered wherever the English name is known. We have set before us, by them, pictures of Christian resignation which we delight to venerate, and when we read their letters, we find in them the spirit which has nerved them to such trials. I read last night two letters from a lady, since massacred, with her husband and child, who for weeks was expecting every hour the fate which at last fell upon her. While in this awful expectation, she wrote a journal day by day, which was transmitted to her friends, and never, but of Holy Writ, have I ever read words that spoke more truly of the reality of Christianity, of the strength of Christian faith, than in those few pathetic pages. That is but one specimen out of a hundred which we rejoice to think so many families will be able to lay by and treasure up among their most precious possessions. We may also conclude that God intends, by this great chastisement, to teach us rightly to value our Christianity, to show that it has borne fruits in our hearts, and to show this by our readiness to assist those who are in India, and, as this occasion particularly reminds us, by endeavouring in every way hereafter to spread the blessings of that Christianity throughout the world."

The Bishop of Oxford, in speaking to a resolution upon this occasion, said—"The cobweb notions which have infected some brains, of educating Mohammedans and Brahmans until the polished heathen shall be capable of participating in a soken administration, seeking the happiness and

good of all, have been swept away by the besum of the Cawnpore destruction. Why, the man who has shown himself to be the most under the power of that spirit of evil which has been let loose in India for our chastisement—Nana Sahib himself—is a man who has that kind of education in its greatest perfection, and who passed among our countrymen as a pleasant and highly accomplished gentleman. Ah! how like the tiger of his own jungles, when, sleek and smooth, with its claws soft as velvet, it plays with the little innocent whom it seems to guard! How like, also, the same tiger in its moment of fury, when it has given itself up to the gratification of its brutal passions, and when its vile nature has hurst forth in all its hideousness and atrocity! A polished Brahmin or a polished Mohammedan is a savage still, and I trust that henceforth, instead of confining ourselves to the cultivation of the native intellect, we shall administer India not merely for our own temporal advantage, but for the benefit of the people and the support of Christian truth. How is that to be done? Not by fraud or violence—not by leading the natives to suppose that they shall please England or avoid punishment by assuming the Christian faith, but by letting all our public acts declare that we are Christians, that we glory in belonging to Christ, and that we hold India for the good of the people because we are Christians. Let us declare that no man shall be injured because he chooses to become a Christian, but that, as long as we hold dominion in India, there shall be protection for all. That is the first thing."—In continuation of his eloquent and impressive address, the right reverend prelate said—"We have an opportunity such as no people ever had before of spreading the gospel among the heathen. We have the further advantage of standing upon the vantage ground of a better civilisation and higher intellectual gifts. The other day I met a gentleman connected with one of our highest families, who was a resident in India for thirty years. He told me that, upon one occasion, the rajah of Gwalior, the ancestor of that rajah who has stood so faithfully by us in the present mutinies, said to him, 'How is it that you English have so great a command over us?' His reply was, 'It is because you pray to an idol which can do no good to you, while we pray to the God of Heaven, through

His only Son, and our prayers are heard' The man was still for a moment At last he said, 'I believe you are right' Mark how curiously you may trace the hand of God in this last outbreak Why did that man's family remain faithful to us? I verily believe that it was mainly on account of the moral and religious influence which the resident obtained over that man's heart He had got to trust him implicitly The resident had helped him to recover a large debt of which he had always despaired, and when it was paid it came home in bullock-waggons, and the rajah sent to say, that he had ordered a certain number, containing £400,000, to stop at the resident's door, as his share Of course the resident's answer was, 'I cannot take a single penny from you What I have done I have done as a matter of right and justice' The rajah sent for him next day, and said to him, 'What a fool you were not to take the money, nobody would have known it I should never have told it' 'But,' said the resident, 'there is One who would have known it—the eye that sleepeth not, and my own conscience would never have left me a moment's rest' Upon which the rajah said, 'You English are a wonderful people, no Indian would have done that' When the resident was going away, the rajah sent for him, and asked him for advice as to his future policy 'I will give you this advice,' said the resident 'it is very likely that troublesome days will come, but don't be led away It may appear as though the power of the Company was going to be swept away Don't believe it, it never will be, and those who stand firm by the Company, will in the end find that they have made the best choice' The rajah's reply was, 'I believe you are right,' and he transmitted that doctrine down to those who came after him There, I believe, is the history of Gwalior remaining firm, when so many other princes have fallen from us, because Christian principles had been there brought to bear upon the rulers of that people"

In reference to the objects of the meeting referred to, it may be observed, that Christianity possesses two distinct features It is not a religion to be propagated by violence, but is, essentially, a religion to be diffused by preaching and teaching, and thus although Christians may not make converts by the sword, they are bound where they can, to make proselytes by

instruction This element of Christianity, however, was, in India, entirely suppressed, and our administration presented the disgraceful spectacle of one of the greatest Christian powers in the world, sedulously bent upon ignoring its own belief! The natives saw us patronising and encouraging institutions which, as wicked and idolatrous, we ought, if consistent, to have condemned, and they could remark that we even permitted positive impediments to remain in the way of pacific conversion They were led, therefore, to the supposition, that we were either indifferent to the matter altogether, or that we really designed to proceed by craft, and, as the former notion would be inexplicable to rude minds, they adopted the latter The plain, ample truths of Christianity would not have alarmed them, but in the conduct of its professors they found cause for distrust, and they became terrified at the attributes which, for want of a better knowledge, they had themselves ascribed to it The smallest amount of Christian teaching, openly and universally diffused, would have relieved them of the only apprehension they had ever entertained—that of forcible proselytism Even those who could learn nothing else, would soon have learnt this—that one of the fundamental principles of this new religion was, that nobody could be made to embrace it against his will This one conviction would have assured their minds, whereas, owing to the suppression of the truth, Christian teachers lived in constant terror of being taken for harbingers of violence and Hindoos invested the mild and assuasive precepts of Christianity with a hidden meaning, and with features only proper to the impostures and bigotry of Mohammedanism

It was truly observed, in reference to this great question that, "during a whole century of dominion, we had failed to persuade the natives of India that we had not, and never did have, any intention of forcing them to abandon their religion for our own This simple fact was surely proof sufficient that our system, in this respect, had been wholly wrong We overacted our part, and professed our policy of neutrality with such extreme earnestness that it was not believed in Had we allowed the truth to come out, we could not possibly have fared worse and it is reasonable to suppose we might have fared a great deal better We might at all events by more manly and open dealing have convinced the

Hindoo that Christianity was not a religion to be afraid of. As it was, we lowered ourselves in native eyes by timidly disguising the belief we professed to entertain, and exalted the fanaticism of the Brahminical zealots by first investing them with the power of the sword, and then showing our extreme anxiety to avoid giving them offence. Such relations between masters and servants could never be secure. To what extent the sepoys really believed in the reported designs against their caste, is more than we can tell, but there are some features of human nature which are the same everywhere, and one of these is quite sufficient to explain the insubordination of large bodies of men, armed, as they fancied, with irresistible strength, and feared, as they saw, by those whose office it was to control them.

"The great political result to be anticipated from the propagation of the gospel in India, is the removal of that huge fear which has hitherto been the terror of rulers and subjects together. The one thing which Hindoos dread, and which English governments have always dreaded their dreading, is forcible intervention with their creed, and the one doctrine which should pervade every missionary address, is that of peace and good will. Christianity needs only to be placed in its true light, instead of being regarded through the medium which our own timidity permitted to be formed. When the gospel is preached faithfully, one result at least will be certain, and that is, that no Hindoo will thenceforward believe his creed to be in danger from the violence of a Christian administration."

With regard to the religious element to be invoked in the re-establishment of order, it was clearly the undoubted right, as it was also the positive duty, of England to assert herself in India as a civilised and Christian power, but, at the same time, it was equally clear, that the faintest suspicion of an official plan to Christianise and Europeanise the people, would again rouse all the fire of their jealous blood, and once more turn their seeming allegiance into vindictive hatred. It was most important, therefore, that if civilisation did put forth her influence, it must be with discretion. If religion laboured in the boundless field overshadowed by the traditions of seven thousand years, her ministers had need to consult the experience of the world, as well as the suggestions of their own pious and fervid gene-

rosity. It could not be denied, that the people of India, notwithstanding the lamentable mistake of 1857, had rights and feelings which were to be respected, and it was urged by some, that instead of granting them toleration, which "is the hypocrisy of those who dare not persecute," we should loudly acknowledge their absolute equality in the eye of the law, and their undisputed right to perform the exercises of their several faiths. But a difficulty still presented itself. It was not denied even by the advocates of this "absolute equality," as regarded opposite creeds, that there was a point at which the principles of the imperial government must interfere with native privileges, when it became necessary, for the protection of society, to prohibit displays of gross indecency and cruelty, or the sacrifice of human life. It could be to the Christian government no hardship to tell a tribe of Brahmins that they should not burn alive a widow, scarcely yet risen out of girlhood, to hang a highway assassin, although his murderous hand was impelled by religious zeal, to prevent the immolation of youth to the deity of Hindoo vengeance, and to treat infanticide as a crime meriting condign punishment. Yet the Hindoos believed all these things essential to the due observance of their religious obligations, and it was not likely that, without compulsion, those practices would be abandoned, or that such compulsion would be looked upon in any other light than as acts of tyranny and oppression. Such, then, were among the hindrances that lay in the path of the government, and of the missionary zeal that aimed at the Christianising of near two hundred millions of people. It was evident that, with the opposite principles of Brahminism and Christianity in active and constant operation, there must be collisions, and, as no middle course could possibly exist that would satisfy the conscientious requirements of either, it seemed to be imperative, after all, that either the temporising policy that had hitherto characterised the government in the matter of native religions must be still pursued, or that recourse must be had to a more active agency than mere persuasion, before the idolatry of the land would yield to the peaceful exhortations of missionaries.

On the 26th of November, the *London Gazette* contained an announcement that the queen had directed letters patent to be passed under the great seal, granting the

dignity of a baronet of the United Kingdom to Major-general Archdale Wilson, of Delhi, knight-commander of the most honourable order of the Bath, lieutenant colonel of the Bengal artillery, and to his heirs male. Also that her majesty had directed similar letters to pass under the great seal, *granting the dignity of a baronet of the United Kingdom to Major-general Henry Havelock, of Lucknow, knight-commander of the Bath, and to his heirs male.* By another notification in the same *Gazette*, it was announced that the queen had been pleased to ordain that Isabella Neill, the widow of the late Colonel James George Neill, of the Madras fusiliers, should hold and enjoy the same style, title, place, and precedence, to which she would have been entitled had her husband, who fell in the gallant discharge of his duty in India, survived and been invested with the insignia of the order of the Bath, for which honour he had been worthily recommended to her majesty.

On Monday, the 7th of December, Mr Ross Mangles, the chairman of the board of directors of the East India Company, with his colleagues, visited, for the last time, the grand nursery of their statesmen and civil servants at Haileybury—an ominous portent of fading sovereignty. On that day the chairman of the Company pronounced a funeral *éloge* on an institution which, for the last half century, had supplied the mental machinery for the civil government of India. During the fifty years of its operation, no less than 2,035 students had passed through the college, and it was about to be extinguished at the very moment when its usefulness was powerfully attested by the number of its pupils, then, or but recently, holding high office, and who, in their several spheres, had earned for themselves the meed of public approbation.

The fund for the relief of sufferers by the mutiny had by this time reached to colossal magnitude, the subscription list amounting, in December, 1857, to upwards of £300,000, in respect to the application of which, the following communication was made by Lord Canning to Alderman Finnis, chairman of the fund committee, and published in the *Times* newspaper of Wednesday, December 2nd—

*From the Governor-general of India to the Right Hon the Lord Mayor*

"Fort William, October 23rd

"My Lord—Your lordship's despatch of the 26th of August last, acquainted me that a public meeting

was held at the Mansion house, on the 25th of August, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with those who are suffering from the recent calamitous events in India, that a committee had been formed for the purpose of raising funds, to be placed at my disposal for the immediate relief of the most urgent cases of distress, and that 20,000 rupees had been remitted as a first instalment, to be distributed as might be deemed advisable.

"Your lordship's subsequent communication, dated the 9th ult., announces a further remittance of 80,000 rupees, and points out that the object of the fund raised by the committee, being more immediately for the relief of those who are not entitled to compensation from the government, it may be a question for further consideration how far, in the event of the government being authorised to administer full relief, the money may be made available for the benefit of those whose means of subsistence may have been impaired or annihilated.

"Your lordship also informs me of the gracious munificence with which the queen, the prince consort, and other members of the royal family, have contributed towards this benevolent object, of the friendly and prompt generosity of his majesty the emperor of the French and the imperial guard, and of the liberality with which all classes of our own countrymen have come forward with aid for the occasion.

"Finally, your lordship inquires how, in my opinion the proceeds of the fund now being collected in England can in future best be applied to the purpose in view?

I have first to express my lord, on behalf of the government of India of the whole European community in this country, and especially of those who have been sufferers by the sanguinary outrages and rapine by which a large part of Hindostan has been and is still unhappily afflicted, our grateful appreciation of the earnest, active, and wide-spread sympathy which your letter records, and I pray your lordship to convey the offer of our sincerest thanks to those in whose name you write.

Your lordship is aware that soon after the first outbreak of mutiny in May last and when the disastrous consequences which it could not fail to bring upon individuals became manifest, a committee was formed in Calcutta for the purpose of raising subscriptions to be devoted to the relief of the sufferers, and of distributing the funds thus raised in the most effective manner. The amount subscribed in India, up to this date, is 2,41,680r 13a, the amount expended 91,834r 13a, and the amount remaining expended, in the hands of the committee is 16,746r.

"The objects to which the expenditure of the sub-committee is at present directed, are the following:—

"1 Board and lodging on arrival in Calcutta for refugees who are without homes or friends to receive them. 2 Clothing for refugees. 3 Monthly allowances for the support of families who are not boarded and lodged by the sub-committee. 4 Loans to sufferers to provide furniture, clothing &c. 5 Free grants to sufferers for the same purpose. 6 Passage and diet money on board river steamers to all who have not been provided with the same by the government. 7 Loans to officers and others, to pay for the passage of their families to England. 8 Free passage in England for the widows and families of officers and other sufferers, including travelling



expenses to Bombay and Calcutta 9 Education of the children of sufferers

"This fund has been raised independently of the government, and is distributed by a sub-committee according to certain rules which have been laid down, subject to the approval of a general committee of subscribers at Calcutta.

"The mode in which the distribution is made is shown in the printed reports of the proceedings of the general committee, held on the 5th of August and 3rd of September last, copies of which have already been sent to England, and the measures of the sub-committee, so far as they are known to the government, have been guided by liberality and good judgment, and have given general satisfaction.

"The committee applied to the government for a grant of money in aid of the objects of the fund, but this was declined for the reasons set forth in the letter from the secretary to the government of India, dated the 21st idem. The assistance given by the government has been hitherto confined to the grant of a free passage, by the inland steamers, to all women and children proceeding from the interior to Calcutta.

"The spirit of resistance, violence, and bloodshed, though gradually yielding to the means which have been taken for its suppression, and especially to the bravery and endurance of our British troops, is not yet subdued, nor is the extent of the privation and suffering which it has already inflicted in distant parts of the country, cut off from communication with Calcutta, fully known to the government. It is therefore impossible to say how large may be the field over which eventually it will be necessary to distribute the funds which your lordship may transmit. At present no better course can be taken than that which the sub-committee have adopted in dosing with the funds at their disposal for the benefit of those who are within their reach. This course, therefore, the government of India will pursue in the first employment of the money received through your lordship, extending their operations to the distant parts of the presidency in which assistance is required, but which are not easily accessible to the sub-committee in Calcutta.

"In this view Sir John Lawrence, K.C.B., the chief commissioner of the Punjab has been advised to form a separate committee at Lahore (where subscriptions have already been raised), for the purpose of affording relief to those who have suffered loss in the Punjab and the more northerly parts of the Upper Provinces, including the hill stations of Simla, Mussoorie, and Nynce Tal. A sum of 25,000r has been placed at Sir John Lawrence's disposal for immediate purposes, and more will be remitted when required. Hereafter, when the full consequences of the rebellion have shown themselves, I shall be in a better position to inform your lordship as to the purposes to which the liberality of our countrymen at home can best be turned. In the meantime the money which has been remitted will remain in the Agra bank at the credit of the government, bearing interest at the same rate as is allowed by the bank on the deposits of the committee.

"I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most faithful humble servant,

"CANNING, Governor general."

The following notice was issued by the home committee, in reference to the numerous applications for relief, which they

received on behalf of the wives and families of soldiers who had recently embarked for India for suppression of the mutiny —

"November 30th

"Many applications for relief having been made by or on behalf of the wives and children of soldiers who have gone to India with their regiments, this committee has, on several occasions, given their most careful and anxious consideration to the subject, and it has always been with one result—that it was not in the power of the committee to give the solicited relief.

"The question is, not whether relief ought or ought not to be given, but whether such relief can be properly given out of the fund which has been entrusted to this committee, and the decision of this question must entirely depend upon the understanding with which the fund was subscribed.

"We may confidently assert, that the prevailing idea which possessed the public mind at the time when the subscription was in active progress, was the destruction of life and property in India, and the distress occasioned by it. This feeling was so strongly reflected in the resolutions which were published by this committee on the 26th of September, embodying the conditions on which we were willing to administer such means of relief as might be placed at our disposal, that doubts were entertained whether the widows and orphans of the European soldiers serving in India, who might lose their lives by the casualties of war and climate, were intended to be included, and they were therefore expressly mentioned in the address which was subsequently published by our committee. On the other hand, the case of the wives and children who were left behind in this country (the fathers being still living) was repeatedly urged upon us, and the answer invariably returned was, that it did not come within the scope of our fund. We cannot therefore doubt, that when the fund was subscribed no such appropriation of it was contemplated, and that our committee holds the funds in trust on that condition. How important this condition is may be seen from the fact that, with a smaller number of wives and children of soldiers upwards of £100,000 was expended during the late Russian war by the association for the relief of wives and children of her majesty's soldiers and sailors serving in the East.

"Although the reasons why persons of this class were not included in the plan of the subscription, have no immediate bearing on the point now under consideration it may be proper to allude briefly to them.

"The object of the subscription was to relieve 'the distress caused by the mutinies in India.' Now, the distress unhappily prevailing among the wives and children of the soldiers serving in India, cannot in any proper sense be said to be caused by the mutiny. It was caused by that condition of military life which makes it impossible that the wives and children of soldiers can accompany them on active service; and the case would have been the same whether the seat of war was India or Persia or the Cape of Good Hope, or any other country. In the event of the pacification of India, regiments from Bengal might proceed to China; and although the distress of the women would be no less diminished it would obviously be impossible to contribute towards its relief from a fund which was subscribed for the relief of the distress caused by the Indian mutiny.

"The wives and children of British soldiers fighting the battles of their country abroad ought, of course, to be objects of the particular care of their countrymen and countrywomen at home; but the circumstances are such that assistance can be given in a more effectual manner, and with less probability of moral deterioration by local agency using funds usually raised, than by means of any general administration.

"The wives of the soldiers serving in India, several thousand in number are residing in various parts of the United Kingdom. The majority of them probably already have the means of subsistence in the government allowance in their own earnings, or in the help of their friends, but some of them, no doubt, stand in need of other assistance. Who the persons of the latter class are, and the kind and degree of assistance that would be proper, is known in the respective localities, but could not be ascertained with nearly equal certainty by a central body like the Indian relief committee whatever pains might be taken to sift the facts of the several cases. In truth if it were open to all this large class of persons to apply for relief out of a general fund administered in London, a great relaxation of the ordinary motives to industry and economy, besides other moral evils, must ensue. It therefore seems to be desirable, that whatever relief may be given should be by means of funds locally raised and through the agency of the established legal machinery, or of local associations formed in aid of it."

— T. PARRY WOODCOCK, Hon Sec."

The claims of the unfortunate families of the men suddenly transferred to the seat of war, were not, however, totally lost sight of, although they could not properly be associated with those of the actual sufferers for whom the relief fund was originated. Meetings were held in different parts of the country, and in the metropolis, on behalf of the wives and families of the soldiers on their way to India, and committees were formed to organise and carry out a plan for their relief. At one of these humane gatherings (over which the Earl of Shaftesbury presided), after some remarks from General Sir W. F. Williams, of Kars, who referred to the great destitution in which more than four hundred families of the royal artillery had been left in consequence of the sudden departure of the soldiers for India, the Rev. Thomas Harding described the result of a recent movement at Woolwich, conducted by a committee of ladies, for relieving the distress alluded to. Major Vauclaire then described the proceedings of the committee, and the mode in which relief had been afforded. The total amount of the subscriptions was stated to be £626 13s. 3½d., and the following resolution was agreed to:—"That it is desirable an association be formed with a view of extending relief to the wives and families of our soldiers and

sailors gone out to India; and that it be also of a more permanent character, for the purpose of directing its attention to the condition of the wives and children of our soldiers and sailors whenever they are removed on service, whether in war or peace, in distant and foreign countries, and that a committee be formed for the purpose of carrying out the foregoing resolution, and of organising a central board in London for receiving subscriptions and devising ulterior measures."

An extraordinary early session of the imperial parliament was opened by her majesty on the 3rd of December, 1857, as well on account of the grave disturbances that had occurred, and were still in progress in part of her Indian dominions, as also for the purpose of giving legislative sanction to the extraordinary measures of relief which had been necessitated by a season of commercial distress, consequent upon over speculation and incautious credit. The passages in the royal speech which had direct reference to Indian affairs, were the following:—

"While I deeply deplore the severe suffering to which many of my subjects in India have been exposed and while I grieve for the extensive bereavements and sorrow which it has caused I have derived the greatest satisfaction from the distinguished successes which have attended the heroic exertions of the comparatively small forces which have been opposed to greatly superior numbers without the aid of the powerful reinforcements dispatched from this country to their assistance. The arrival of those reinforcements will I trust speedily complete the suppression of this widely spread revolt."

"The gallantry of the troops employed against the mutineers their courage in action their endurance under privation fatigue, and the effects of climate; the high spirit and self-devotion of the officers, the ability, skill, and persevering energy of the commanders have excited my warmest admiration, and I have observed with equal gratification that many civilians placed in extreme difficulty and danger have displayed the highest qualities including in some instances, those that would do honour to veteran soldiers."

"It is satisfactory to know that the general mass of the population of India have taken no part in the rebellion while the most considerable of the native princes have acted in the most friendly manner and have rendered important services."

"I have given directions that papers relating to these matters shall be laid before you."

"The affairs of my East Indian dominions will require your serious consideration, and I recommend them to your earnest attention."

Upon this occasion the Earl of Derby expatiated very fully upon the various points incident to the mutiny, and com-

mented, in severe language, upon the many proofs of deficiency in judgment, knowledge, and energy, which he insisted had been displayed by the ministry in reference to the event, and specially he deprecated the ignorance and incapacity of Mr Vernon Smith and the Board of Control. Among other grounds for censure, he also instanced the neglect in dispatching troops by the overland route, and the general failure of ministers either to comprehend or provide for the terrible emergency which had overtaken the Anglo Indian empire.—The Earl of Ellenborough, supporting the views of Lord Derby, proceeded to criticise the conduct of the government in India and at home, in relation to the sepoy disturbances, and inquired if it was the intention of the government to bring in any measure to remodel the government, contending that the present was a most inopportune moment to revise the political organisation of India.—Earl Granville energetically defended the conduct of the home government and of Lord Canning, and stated that, as the present assembling of parliament was for a specific purpose, and would be of limited duration, it was not the intention of government to introduce any such measure.—In the House of Commons, Mr Disraeli animadverted upon the conduct of the governor general, as well as upon that of the home government, and strongly urged, that as ministers had doubtless some plan matured for the future government of India, they should lay it on the table of the house before Christmas, in order that it might be carefully considered during the recess.—Lord Palmerston replied to the remarks of the preceding speaker, and informed the house that it was the intention of government to propose for Sir Henry Havelock a grant of £1,000 a year, and that the East India Company intended to make a similar provision for Sir Archdale Wilson. The message in reference to General Havelock, was introduced by Lord Palmerston at the sitting of the 7th of December, and, on the following day, the house went into committee, and unanimously agreed to the proposition—a result that was announced amidst the cheers of all present. By a subsequent arrangement the pension was extended to two lives.

On the 11th of the month, Mr Vernon Smith, in answer to a question respecting the transportation of a certain number of the Indian ruffians for the purposes of

penal servitude in the West India colonies, said the subject had not escaped the notice of government, which felt that it was desirable, with regard to those parties who had not joined in the massacres, but had only identified themselves with the mutiny for purposes of plunder, that some punishment in the nature of transportation should be inflicted. In every case it was clearly impossible to inflict the punishment of death, and that of transportation would be invested with additional horrors, in consequence of the dread entertained by the high caste Hindoos of a sea voyage, by which alone they forfeited caste; but it was necessary first to ascertain what colonies would be willing to receive such persons, for it was not in the power of the state to force them upon a free community against the will of its members.

On Saturday, the 12th of December, parliament having received the royal assent to the Bank Issues Indemnity Bill, was adjourned by commission to Thursday, the 4th of February. Previous, however, to its separation, Lord Panmure embraced the opportunity afforded by a letter addressed to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge (as commander-in-chief), by Sir Colin Campbell, on his quitting Calcutta for the field in the previous October, to remove an impression that existed as to an alleged ill feeling between the governor general and Sir Colin, as commander-in-chief in India. The passages read to the house, and which entirely dispelled the erroneous impression, were as follows:—"Now that I am on the point of leaving Calcutta, I would beg, with the greatest respect to the governor general, to record the deep sense of the obligations which I entertain towards his lordship. Our intercourse has been most cordial, intimate, and unreserved. I cannot be sufficiently thankful for his lordship's confidence and support, and the kindly manner in which they have been afforded to my great personal satisfaction. One at a distance, not acquainted with the ordinary mode of transacting business in this country, could hardly estimate the gain to the public service which has thus been made, but I allude principally to my own feelings of gratification."

His lordship, in concluding the observations with which the extract was connected, said—"My lords, I have thought it my duty to make this statement to your lordships before parliament adjourns, in order

to act at rest, at once and for ever, the calumny which has been circulated, that between the governor general and the commander-in-chief disagreements have existed."

In accordance with the statement made in the House of Commons, the East India Company took early steps to declare their recognition of the valuable services of their military servants engaged in the defence, or rather recovery, of their Indian possessions. A special general Court of Proprietors of East India stock, was held at their house in Leadenhall street, on Wednesday, December the 15th, to confirm resolutions of the Court of Directors for certain honorary grants, when, after a spirited eulogium upon the merits of Major general Sir Archdale Wilson, of Delhi, the following resolution was proposed, and unanimously adopted—"That, as a special mark of the sense which this court entertains of the skill, sound judgment, steady resolution, and gallantry of Major general Sir Archdale Wilson, Bart, Knight Commander of the Bath, in the operations which resulted in the storm and capture of Delhi, by which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the reputation of the British arms and nation has been nobly sustained, an annuity of £1,000 be granted to Sir Archdale Wilson, to commence from the 14th of September, 1857, the day on which Delhi was stormed."

At the same court, the respective claims of the late Brigadiers Neill and Nicholson to the grateful consideration of the Company, were eloquently submitted to the proprietors, with the following resolutions—"That as a mark of the high sense entertained by this court of the services rendered by the late Brigadier general Neill, on whom her majesty has been graciously pleased to confer the posthumous dignity of Knight Commander of the Bath, a special pension of £500 a year be granted to the widow of that distinguished officer, in substitution for the pensionary allowance to which Lady Neill is entitled under the regulations for the grant of pensions to the widows of officers killed in action with the enemy."

"That in recognition of the brilliant career and eminent services of the late Brigadier general John Nicholson, on whom also her majesty has been graciously pleased to confer the posthumous dignity of Knight Commander of the Bath, a special grant of

£500 per annum be made to the mother of that distinguished officer, in substitution for the pension to which that lady would be entitled under the regulations of the service."

An effort was made, by amendments, to increase the amount of these annuities to £750 per annum in each case, but, after an animated discussion, the amendments were rejected upon division, and the resolutions, as originally proposed, were agreed to.

In concluding the present chapter, which brings the home occurrences connected with the Indian revolt to the close of the year 1857, it is only just to remark, that the efforts of the British government, although at first dilatory through the imperfect idea formed of the emergency, were not ultimately unworthy of the magnitude of the crisis. Between the arrival of the first intelligence of the outbreak in July, and the end of December, more than 30,000 men had been dispatched to the aid of the Indian government, and landed at the various ports of debarkation, and the resources and reliefs for so great a force had also been organised and forwarded. A commander of acknowledged ability was sent out to take the chief command of the army, and means had been adopted for facilitating the future dispatch of troops from England, by adopting the direct route of transit afforded by the Isthmus of Suez. The whole country was unanimous in a desire to support and to honour those brave men who had gallantly withstood the shock of rebellion, and preserved the empire which the arms and policy of their predecessors had won. No effeminate simulation of philanthropy was allowed to stand in the way of a righteous demand that the crimes of Meerut of Delhi and of Cawnpore, should be accused. The true meaning of punishment had become intelligible to the nation at large, and, in the general belief, retribution had properly resumed its inseparable connection with guilt. The pious fortitude of suffering women—the deliberate and heroic sacrifices of men left to their own resources—had awakened all the admiring sympathies of a grave and thoughtful people, and the public conscience had become thoroughly imbued with the truth, till then confined to statesmen, that the dominion of England in India was just and beneficial to mankind. The same public conscience now demanded

that Englishmen in India should not appear ashamed of Christianity, and that, while tolerating the faith of others, they should firmly and unequivocally maintain the inviolability and purity of their own. The necessity for direct interference with the political and territorial government of India, had at length awakened the ministers of the crown to a sense of the danger incurred by further adhesion to a system by which the vast possessions of England in the East had hitherto been managed, and the demand was loud and unanimous

that the anomaly of a double government, each in its way supreme, yet each interfering with the other, should no longer be permitted to guide the destinies of India. With the close of 1857, the staff of territorial and political power was about to pass from the hands of those who, in the days of their might and glory, had wrested so many sceptres from the hands of others, and when now, in the hour of peril, had shown themselves incompetent to sustain the burden they had coveted, possessed, and neglected.

## CHAPTER XVI

THE APPROACHING CHANGE, COMMUNICATION FROM LORD PALMERSTON TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS, ALARM AT THE INDIA HOUSE; PETITION TO PARLIAMENT; HONOURS FOR INDIAN HEROES; DEATH OF THE QUEEN OF ODE, REASSEMBLING OF PARLIAMENT, THANKS TO THE INDIAN ARMY, THE PALMERSTON BILL FOR THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, COMPANY'S PETITION PRESENTED, DEBATE ON ODE, DEBATE ON GOVERNMENT BILL, CHANGE OF MINISTERS, LORD HERBERT'S INDIA BILL, DEBATES THEREON, BATTLE OF PRIZZ MOWRY FOR DELHI; PROCEEDINGS OF THE SESSION, PROCLAMATION OF THE QUEEN'S GOVERNMENT IN INDIA, HOME EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE INDIAN QUESTION.

Previous to entering upon the parliamentary history of 1858, as it refers to Indian affairs, it will be proper to observe, that at a quarterly general court of the East India Company, held in Leadenhall street on the 23rd of December, the chairman of the Court of Directors announced that, on the previous Saturday, the deputy chairman and himself had had an interview with the prime minister by appointment, when Lord Palmerston communicated to them that it was the intention of her majesty's government to propose to parliament, as soon as it should again meet, a bill for the purpose of placing the British East India dominions under the direct authority of the crown. By this announcement it was evident the time had at length arrived when it was considered that the continuance of political and territorial power in the hands of a purely commercial institution, could no longer be conceded with a due regard to the safety and integrity of British power in the East. The intimation of their approaching doom was listened to by the Court in silence, and, after some routine business had been disposed of, the

members separated, to meditate upon the fading glory of their house.

While the proposed measures of government for the consolidation of the empire were yet a secret to the general public, much discussion arose as to the affairs of India, and particularly in regard to the vast amount of patronage which, by the proposed assumption by the crown, would fall into the hands of its servants. Much real or affected alarm was expressed at the anticipated acquisition, and a consideration of the course which such patronage had hitherto taken, and of that to which it would probably be diverted, became a main feature in the arguments offered against interference with the existing institutions of India. It was urged that, up to the present time, India had been the field of the middle classes especially, and the service of the Company had provided this section of society with opportunities which few but those connected with aristocratic families, could find in the service of the crown. In England, as if by prescriptive right, the chief offices of administration, and the principal

posts in the army, fell mainly to the favourites of birth or fortune. In India, under the Company, either the civil or military profession might be pursued with encouraging prospects of success, apart from any hereditary advantages. Promotion under the crown depended very materially, and indeed almost as a rule, on rank and wealth, whereas, under the administration of the East India Company, it appeared to be attainable by merit only. It became, therefore, a question of importance, if the government of India was to be assimilated to that of the other dependencies of the crown of England, so far as to bring the patronage it involved under the direct control of the home administration, what would become of that field which the middle classes had so long enjoyed, and in which it was undisputed they had displayed virtues and energies of the true popular stamp. The importance of this question was beyond a doubt, and its solution was one of the practical difficulties to be surmounted in any reconstruction of the Anglo-Indian government.

A system of patronage, merely as such, had always been an object of special jealousy to the people of England, and now that the question of concentration was raised in connection with it, it was essential to know in what the dreaded charm of Indian patronage consisted. It was well known that, in times past, it embraced the disposal of a certain number of appointments in the civil service, and the gift of a certain number of commissions in the armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, but it was also a fact, that by regulations of some standing, the first appointments in the civil service had been thrown open to competition, and might therefore be put out of the question, as being removed from the grasp of any patrons whatever, the power of promotion necessarily resting with the local governments. As to the military service, the army of Bengal, which had equalled in magnitude those of the other two presidencies together had now ceased to exist. Of the army of Bombay, a portion had succumbed to the influence of treason, and been disbanded, and it was the army of Madras alone that had generally preserved its fidelity. The deductions, therefore, already made from the aggregate of *divisible patronage*, were enormous, and the bugbear of former days was reduced to proportions of comparative insignificance. It was true the army of Bengal would again have to be formed and

officered, but there were considerations attached to the military service in India, that rendered the evils of future patronage little other than imaginary, since, as far as service in that country was really concerned, there was no reason to suppose, whatever might be the constitution or administration of the army, that it would be sought for by any other class of men than those whom its conditions and advantages had hitherto attracted. The sphere of duty would always be remote, the duty itself arduous, and the obligations considerable. A man selecting India as the field of his career, would henceforth have to labour hard at the acquisition of Indian languages, endure an Indian climate, and accept an Indian exile, whatever might be the form or denomination taken by the government under which he served, and such conditions were no more likely in time to come, than they had been in time past, to attract young gentlemen with pockets full of money, or pedigrees full of coronets. Indian service had, in fact, become too much of a reality to be looked upon as a pastime, and would task the labourer too severely to become an object of desire by the aristocracy, whose aspirations flowed in a different channel. This view of the case was warranted by the fact, that a battalion destined for an Indian station had always ceased to be considered by aristocratic triflers as offering an eligible resort, and thus, after a short period of exchanges and retirements, its officers would probably represent much the same class as those of a native regiment. A titled idler would shrink not merely from the Indian service, but service in India, under whatever masters, and the field had been hitherto left open to less influential competitors, not because a commercial company kept the keys of the preserve, but because its attractions were not strong enough for those who had the privilege of choice. It was obvious that such conditions must survive any constitutional changes at home, and that they would remain so full force whether the government of India was double or single.

The intimation, by the chairman of the Court of Directors, of the approaching transfer of the governing powers of the East India Company, referred to in the opening of the present chapter, had the effect of exciting much feeling on the part of the proprietors of stock of the Company, as well as among the public generally, and meetings were frequent, for the purpose

of discussing the merits of the question. Foremost among such proceedings were those of the Company, which certainly showed no disposition to yield without a struggle to the circumstances that threatened to annihilate its power and cast its prestige, as the ruler of India, to the winds. On the 13th of January, therefore, a special general Court of Proprietors was held at the East India House, for the purpose of considering the communication addressed to the Court of Directors by the government, respecting the continuance of the powers of the Company; and the following resolution was submitted for adoption:—"That the proposed transfer of the governing powers of the East India Company to the crown is opposed to the rights and privileges of the East India Company; is fraught with danger to the constitutional interests of England; is perilous to the safety of our Indian empire; and calls for the resistance of the corporation by all constitutional means." The meeting, after considerable discussion, was adjourned without coming to a decision as to the resolution proposed. On the 20th of the month the Court again assembled; when, previous to resuming the adjourned debate on the resolution, the chairman laid the following correspondence with her majesty's government before the proprietors. The first communication is from the chairman to Viscount Palmerston, in reference to his lordship's intimation on the 19th of December.

"East India House, Dec. 31st, 1857.

"My Lord,—It has been our duty to communicate to the Court of Directors and to the Court of Proprietors the intimation which your lordship has made to us of the intention of her majesty's government to propose to parliament a bill for the purpose of placing the government of her majesty's East India dominions under the direct authority of the crown.

"The contemplated change involves of necessity the abolition, as an instrument of government, of the East India Company—the body by whom, and at whose sole expense, without any demand on the national exchequer, the British empire in India has been acquired, and is maintained; and, although the Court of Directors have not been furnished with information as to the grounds on which her majesty's ministers have arrived at their determination, or as to the details of the scheme by which it is proposed to supersede the existing home government of India, they nevertheless feel it due to themselves and to the constituent body which they represent, to lose no time in offering a few observations which immediately suggest themselves, and they are persuaded that a frank expression of their sentiments cannot be otherwise than acceptable to her majesty's ministers in their further consideration of this important subject.

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"The Court were prepared to expect that a searching inquiry would be instituted into the causes remote as well as immediate, of the mutiny in the Bengal native army. They have themselves issued instructions to the government of India to appoint a commission in view to such an inquiry; and it would have been satisfactory to them, if it had been proposed to parliament not only to do the same, but to extend the scope of inquiry to the conduct of the home government, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the mutiny could, wholly or partially, be ascribed to mismanagement on the part of the Court acting under the control of the Board of Commissioners. But it has surprised the Court to hear that her majesty's government, not imputing, so far as the Court are informed, any blame to the home authorities in connection with the mutiny, and, without intending any inquiry by parliament, or awaiting the result of inquiry by the local government, should, even before the mutiny was quelled, and whilst considerable excitement prevailed throughout India, determine to propose the immediate suppression of the authority of the East India Company, who are entitled, at least, in the credit of having so administered the government of India, that the heads of all the native states and the mass of the population, amidst the excitement of a mutinous soldiery, inflamed by unfounded apprehensions of danger to their religion, have remained true to the Company's rule.

"The Court would fail in their duty to your lordship and to the country if they did not express their serious apprehension that so important a change will be misunderstood by the people of India. The Court are by no means insensible to the value attached to the name of the crown. But the Company are already trustees for the crown, and the announcement of a great change in the system of government which has existed from the first moment of our possession of India is calculated to excite alarm, the more especially if inaugurated at a time when the government on the spot finds it difficult to give free action to the retributive justice so eminently due to the guilty, without endangering the innocent, and also when public opinion in this country has been so excited as to press for the abandonment of the policy which the Company have strictly observed, of abstaining from all authoritative interference with such of the religious customs and prejudices of the natives as are not abhorrent to humanity.

"The Court submit, that if any such change as that which your lordship has indicated be thought desirable, it should be introduced in a time of tranquillity, when the circumstances of India and its population could be regarded without prejudice, and with calm and deliberate consideration, and when it would not, in the minds of the natives, be directly connected with the recent calamitous events.

"In approaching the question of the necessity for making a change, we are requested to state that the Court would most gladly co-operate with her majesty's government in introducing any reforms into the existing system which might tend to greater simplification and promptitude with equal security. The Court have always shown themselves ready to acquiesce in any changes which were deemed likely to prove conducive to the general welfare, although such changes may have involved important sacrifices to themselves. They need only refer to their partial relinquishment of trade in 1813, to its total

abandonment, and the placing of the Company's commercial charter in obedience, in 1833, to the transfer then to India of all their large commercial assets, and of their undoubted territorial claims and possessions, and more lately to their concurrence in the measure by which their body was reconstituted, and reduced to its present number. Although four years have not yet elapsed since the last change, yet the Court, animated by the same anxiety for the welfare of India, would be prepared without a murmur, to relinquish their trust altogether, if satisfied that a system could be devised better calculated than the present to advance the interests of the British empire there. They would, however, remark that in the inquiry which took place in 1832 and 1833 before the legislation of the latter year, the question of the constitution and working of the home government was thoroughly sifted and completely exhausted, and that therefore it was not unreasonable to expect that the arrangement of 1833 would have been subjected to the test of a more lengthened experience.

"The details of the measure which her majesty's government have in contemplation have not yet been made known to the Court. They trust that it will not be attempted to administer the government by means of a single functionary. Such a proposal would, in their judgment, involve a practical impossibility. The mass of business perpetually arising requires much knowledge, long experience, and a division of labour, and, so far as the Court can form an opinion the duties would not be safely discharged if subject only to the check of parliament.

"The Court are aware that the double government of the Company and the Board of Control is deemed to be objectionable, but whatever may be its defects, and although its working may be clogged by a control of all the details, so minute as hardly to have been contemplated by the legislature yet in its results they sincerely believe that the system, possessing as it does a moral check, works, on the whole, advantageously for India. The Court do not deny that the system is susceptible of improvement; but they think it important to bear in mind that there can be no effective check without a second authority of some kind; and further, that the objection which is taken to the principle of double government is more nominal than real in the case of the Company whose duties are rather those of a deliberative than of an executive body.

"It is the opinion of the Court that an intermediate non-political and perfectly independent body in concurrence with her majesty's government, is an indispensable necessity without which there can be no adequate security for good government; and as at present advised, the Court do not see that it will be possible to form such a body, if its members are to be wholly nominated by the crown. They abstain, however, from offering any further observations to your lordship until they are placed in possession of the details of the proposed measure, which they trust may be communicated to them at the earliest possible period.—We have, &c.

(Signed) "R. D. MANGLES—F. CURRIE.

"The Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston, &c., &c."

To this communication on the part of the Company, the following reply was forwarded by Lord Palmerston—

Piccadilly Jan 18th 1858.

"Gentlemen—I have had the honour of receiving

your joint letter of the 31st of December, upon the subject of the measure which it is the intention of her majesty's government to propose with reference to the future system to be established for the government of India; and I beg to assure you that the observations and opinions which you have therein expressed, will be duly considered by her majesty's government.

"I forbear from entering at present into any examination of those observations and opinions; first, because any correspondence with you on such matters would be most conveniently carried on through the usual official channel of the president of the India Board, and, secondly, because the grounds on which the intentions of her majesty's government have been formed, and the detailed arrangements of the measure which they mean to propose, will best be explained when that measure shall be submitted to the consideration of parliament.—I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

(Signed) "PALMERSTON

"R. D. Mangles, Esq., Sir F. Currie, &c."

The chairman then informed the meeting that the Court of Directors had prepared a petition to the imperial parliament against the proposed measure, which was read by the secretary as follows—

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled

"The humble petition of the East India Company, sheweth—that your petitioners at their own expense, and by the agency of their own civil and military servants, originally acquired for this country its magnificent empire in the East.

"That the foundations of this empire were laid by your petitioners at that time neither aided nor controlled by parliament, at the same period at which a succession of administrations under the control of parliament were losing to the crown of Great Britain another great empire on the opposite side of the Atlantic.

"That during the period of about a century, which has since elapsed, the Indian possessions of this country have been governed and defended from the resources of those possessions, without the smallest cost to the British exchequer, which to the best of your petitioners knowledge and belief can not be said of any other of the numerous foreign dependencies of the crown.

"That it being manifestly improper that the administration of any British possession should be independent of the general government of the empire, parliament provided, in 1783, that a department of the imperial government should have full cognizance of and power of control over, the acts of your petitioners in the administration of India; since which time the home branch of the Indian government has been conducted by the joint counsels and on the joint responsibility of your petitioners and of a minister of the crown.

"That this arrangement has at subsequent periods undergone reconsideration from the legislature, and various comprehensive and careful parliamentary inquiries have been made into its practical operation; the results of which has been on each occasion a renewed grant to your petitioners of the powers exercised by them in the administration of India.

"That the last of these occasions was so recent as



1853, in which year the arrangements which had existed for nearly three-quarters of a century, were, with certain modifications, re-enacted, and still subsist.

"That, notwithstanding, your petitioners have received an intimation from her majesty's ministers of their intention to propose to parliament a bill for the purpose of placing the government of her majesty's East Indian dominions under the direct authority of the crown, a change necessarily involving the abolition of the East India Company as an instrument of government.

"That your petitioners have not been informed of the reasons which have induced her majesty's ministers, without any previous inquiry, to come to the resolution of putting an end to a system of administration which parliament, after inquiry, deliberately confirmed and sanctioned less than five years ago, and which, in its modified form, has not been in operation quite four years, and cannot be considered to have undergone a sufficient trial during that short period.

"That your petitioners do not understand that her majesty's ministers impute any failure to those arrangements, or bring any charge, either great or small, against your petitioners. But the time at which the proposal is made compels your petitioners to regard it as arising from the calamitous events which have recently occurred in India.

"That your petitioners challenge the most searching investigation into the truth of the Bengal army, and the causes, whether remote or immediate, which produced that mutiny. They have instructed the government of India to appoint a commission for conducting such an inquiry on the spot; and it is their most anxious wish that a similar inquiry may be instituted in this country by your honorable house, in order that it may be ascertained whether anything, either in the constitution of the home government of India, or in the conduct of those by whom it has been administered, has had any share in producing the mutiny, or has in any way impeded the measures for its suppression, and whether the mutiny itself, or any circumstance connected with it, affords any evidence of the failure of the arrangements under which India is at present administered.

"That were it even true that these arrangements had failed, the failure would constitute no reason for divesting the East India Company of its functions, and transferring them to her majesty's government; for, under the existing system, her majesty's government have the deciding voice. The duty imposed upon the Court of Directors is to originate measures and frame drafts of instructions. Even had they been remiss in this duty, their remissness, however discreditable to themselves, could in no way absolve the responsibility of her majesty's government, since the minister for India possesses, and has frequently exercised, the power of requiring that the Court of Directors should take any subject into consideration, and prepare a draft despatch for his approval. Her majesty's government are thus, in the fullest sense, accountable for all that has been done, and for all that has been forborne or omitted to be done. Your petitioners, on the other hand, are accountable only in so far as the act of omission has been promoted by themselves.

"That under these circumstances if the administration of India had been a failure it would, your petitioners submit, have been somewhat unreasonable to expect that a remedy would be found in anni-

hilating the branch of the ruling authority which could not be the one principally in fault, and might be altogether blameless, in order to concentrate all powers in the branch which had necessarily the decisive share in every error, real or supposed. To believe that the administration of India would have been more free from error had it been conducted by a minister of the crown, without the aid of the Court of Directors, would be to believe that the minister, with full power to govern India as he pleased, has governed ill because he has had the assistance of experienced and responsible advisers.

"That your petitioners, however, do not seek to vindicate themselves at the expense of any other authority; they claim their full share of the responsibility of the manner in which India has practically been governed. That responsibility is to them not a subject of humiliation, but of pride. They are conscious that their advice and initiative have been, and have deserved to be, a great and potent element in the conduct of affairs in India. And they feel complete assurance, that the more attention is bestowed, and the more light thrown upon India and its administration, the more evident it will become that the government in which they have borne a part, has been not only one of the purest in intention but one of the most beneficent in act, ever known among mankind, that during the last and present generation in particular, it has been, in all departments, one of the most rapidly improving governments in the world, and that, at the time when this change is proposed, a greater number of important improvements are in a state of more rapid progress than at any former period. And they are satisfied that whatever further improvements may be hereafter effected in India, can only consist in the development of germs already planted, and in building on foundations already laid, under their authority, and in a great measure by their express instructions.

"That such, however, is not the impression likely to be made on the public mind, either in England or in India, by the ejection of your petitioners from the place they fill in the Indian administration. It is not usual with statesmen to propose the complete abolition of a system of government of which the practical operation is not condemned, and it might be generally inferred from the proposed measures, if carried into effect at the present time, that the East India Company, having been intrusted with an important portion of the administration of India, have so abused their trust as to have produced a sanguinary insurrection, and nearly lost India to the British empire, and that having thus crowned a long career of misgovernment, they have, in deference to public indignation, been deservedly cashiered for their misconduct.

"That if the character of the East India Company were alone concerned, your petitioners might be willing to await the verdict of history. They are satisfied that posterity will do them justice. And they are confident that, even now, justice is done to them in the minds not only of her majesty's ministers, but of all who have any claim to be competent judges of the subject. But though your petitioners could afford to wait for the reversal of the verdict of condemnation which will be believed throughout the world to have been passed on them and their government by the British nation, your petitioners cannot look without the deepest uneasiness at the effect likely to be produced on the minds of the

people of India. To them—however incorrectly the name may express the fact—the British government in India is the government of the East India Company. To their minds the abolition of the Company will for some time to come mean the abolition of the whole system of administration with which the Company is identified. The measure, introduced simultaneously with the influx of an overwhelming British force, will be coincident with a general outcry, in itself most alarming to their fears, from most of the organs of opinion in this country, as well as of English opinion in India, denouncing the past policy of the government on the express ground that it has been too forbearing, and too considerate towards the natives. The people of India will at first feel no certainty that the new government, or the government under a new name, which it is proposed to introduce, will hold itself bound by the pledges of its predecessors. They will be slow to believe that a government has been destroyed, only to be followed by another which will act on the same principles, and adhere to the same measures. They cannot suppose that the existing organ of administration would be swept away without the intention of reversing any part of its policy. They will see the authorities, both at home and in India, surrounded by persons vehemently urging radical changes in many parts of that policy, and interpreting, as they must do, the change in the instrument of government as a concession to these opinions and feelings; they can hardly fail to believe that, whatever else may be intended, the government will no longer be permitted to observe that strict impartiality between those who profess its own creed and those who hold the creeds of its native subjects, which hitherto characterised it, that their strongest and most deeply rooted feelings will henceforth be treated with much less regard than heretofore, and that a directly aggressive policy towards everything in their habits, or in their usages and customs, which Englishmen deem objectionable, will be no longer confined to individuals and private associations, but will be backed by all the power of government.

"And here your petitioners think it important to observe, that in abstaining as they have done from all interference with any of the religious practices of the people of India, except such as are abhorrent to humanity, they have acted not only from their own conviction of what is just and expedient, but in accordance with the avowed intentions and express enactments of the legislature framed 'in order that regard should be had to the civil and religious usages of the natives,' and also, 'that suits civil or criminal, against the natives should be conducted according to such rules 'as may accommodate the same to the religion and manners of the natives.' That their policy in this respect has been successful, is evidenced by the fact that, during a military mutiny, said to have been caused by unfounded apprehensions of danger to religion the heads of the native states and the masses of the population have remained faithful to the British government. Your petitioners need hardly observe how very different would probably have been the issue of the late events if the native princes, instead of aiding in the suppression of the rebellion, had put themselves at its head or if the general population had joined in the revolt, and how probable it is that both these contingencies would have occurred if any real ground had been given for the persuasion on

that the British government intended to identify itself with proselytism, and it is the honest conviction of your petitioners that any serious apprehension of a change of policy in this respect would be likely to be followed, at no distant period, by a general rising throughout India.

"That your petitioners have seen with the greatest pain the demonstrations of indiscriminate animosity towards the natives of India on the part of our countrymen in India and at home, which have grown up since the late unhappy events. They believe these sentiments to be fundamentally unjust, they know them to be fatal to the possibility of good government in India. They feel that if such demonstrations should continue, and especially if weight be added to them by legislating under their supposed influence, no amount of wisdom and forbearance on the part of the government will avail to restore that confidence of the governed in the intentions of their rulers, without which it is vain even to attempt the improvement of the people.

"That your petitioners cannot contemplate with out dismay the doctrine now widely promulgated, that India should be administered with an especial view to the benefit of the English who reside there, or that in its administration any advantages should be sought for her majesty's subjects of European birth, except that which they will necessarily derive from their superiority of intelligence, and from the increased prosperity of the people, the improvement of the productive resources of the country, and the extension of commercial intercourse. Your petitioners regard it as the most honourable characteristic of the government of India by England, that it has acknowledged no such distinction as that of a dominant and a subject race, but has held that its first duty was to the people of India. Your petitioners feel that a great portion of the hostility with which they are assailed is caused by the belief that they are peculiarly the guardians of this principle, and that, so long as they have any voice in the administration of India it cannot easily be infringed, and your petitioners will not conceal their belief that their exclusion from any part in the government is likely, at the present time to be regarded in India as a first successful attack on that principle.

"That your petitioners, therefore, most earnestly represent to your honourable house, that even if the contemplated change could be proved to be in itself advisable the present is a most unsuitable time for entertaining it, and they most strongly and respectfully urge on your honourable house the expediency of at least deferring any such change until it can be effected at a period when it would not be in the minds of the people of India, directly connected with the recent calamitous events, and with the feelings to which those events have either given rise, or have afforded an opportunity of manifestation. Such postponement, your petitioners submit, would allow time for a more mature consideration than has yet been given, or can be given in the present excited state of the public mind, to the various questions connected with the organisation of a government for India, and would enable the most competent minds in the nation calmly to examine whether any new arrangement can be devised for the home government of India, uniting a greater number of the conditions of good administration than the present, and if so which among the numerous schemes which have been or may be

proposed possesses those requisites in the greatest degree.

"That your petitioners have always willingly acquiesced in any changes which, after discussion by parliament, were deemed conducive to the general welfare, although such changes may have involved important sacrifices to themselves. They would refer to their partial relinquishment of trade in 1813—to its total abandonment, and the placing of their commercial charter in obeyance in 1833—to the transfer to India of their commercial assets, amounting to £15,858,000, a sum greatly exceeding that ultimately repayable to them in respect of their capital, independent of territorial rights and claims—and to their concurrence, in 1853, in the measure by which the Court of Directors was reconstituted and reduced to its present number. In the same spirit your petitioners would most gladly co-operate with her majesty's government in correcting any defects which may be considered to exist in the details of the present system, and they would be prepared without a murmur to relinquish their trust altogether if a better system for the control of the government of India can be devised. But as they believe that, in the construction of such a system, there are conditions which cannot, without the most dangerous consequences, be departed from, your petitioners respectfully and deferentially submit to the judgment of your honourable house their view of those conditions, in the hope that if your honourable house should see reason to agree in that view, you will withhold your legislative sanction from any arrangement for the government of India which does not fulfil the conditions in question in at least an equal degree with the present.

"That your petitioners may venture to assume that it will not be proposed to vest the home portion of the administration of India in a minister of the crown without the adjunct of a council composed of statesmen experienced in Indian affairs. Her majesty's ministers cannot but be aware that the knowledge necessary for governing a foreign country, and in particular a country like India, requires as much special study as any other profession, and cannot possibly be possessed by any one who has not devoted a considerable portion of his life to the acquisition of it.

"That in constituting a body of experienced advisers, to be associated with the Indian minister, your petitioners consider it indispensable to bear in mind that this body should not only be qualified to advise the minister, but also, by its advice, to exercise, to a certain degree, a moral check. It cannot be expected that the minister, as a general rule, should himself know India while he will be exposed to perpetual solicitations from individuals and bodies, either entirely ignorant of that country, or knowing only enough of it to impose on those who know still less than themselves, and having very frequently objects in view other than the interests or good government of India. The influence likely to be brought to bear on him through the organs of popular opinion will, in the majority of cases, be equally misleading. The public opinion of England, itself necessarily unacquainted with Indian affairs, can only follow the promptings of those who take most pains to influence it; and these will generally be such as have some private interest to serve. It is, therefore, your petitioners submit, of the utmost importance that any council which may form a part of the home government of India should derive

sufficient weight from its constitution, and from the relation it occupies to the minister, to be a substantial barrier against those inroads of self interest and ignorance in this country from which the government of India has hitherto been comparatively free, but against which it would be too much to expect that parliament should of itself afford a sufficient protection.

"That your petitioners cannot well conceive a worse form of government for India than a minister with a council whom he should be at liberty to consult or not at his pleasure, or whose advice he should be able to disregard without giving his reasons in writing, and in a manner likely to carry conviction. Such an arrangement, your petitioners submit, would be really liable to the objections in their opinion erroneously urged against the present system. Your petitioners respectfully represent that any body of persons associated with the minister, which is not a check, will be a screen. Unless the council is so constituted as to be personally independent of the minister, unless it feels itself responsible for recording an opinion on every Indian subject, and pressing that opinion on the minister, whether it was agreeable to him or not, and unless the minister, when he overrules their opinion, is bound to record his reasons—their existence will only serve to weaken his responsibility, and to give the colourable sanction of prudence and experience to measures in the framing of which those qualities have had no share.

"That it would be vain to expect that a new council could have as much moral influence and power of asserting its opinion with effect as the Court of Directors. A new body can no more succeed to the feelings and authority which their antiquity and their historical antecedents give to the East India Company, than a legislature, under a new name, sitting in Westminster, would have the moral ascendancy of the Houses of Lords and Commons. One of the most important elements of usefulness will thus be necessarily wanting in any newly-constituted Indian council, as compared with the present.

"That your petitioners find it difficult to conceive that the same independence, in judgment and act, which characterises the Court of Directors will be found in any council all of whose members are nominated by the crown. Owing their nomination to the same authority, many of them probably to the same individual minister whom they are appointed to check, and looking to him alone for their re-appointment, their desire of recommending themselves to him, and their unwillingness to risk his displeasure by any serious resistance to his wishes, will be motives too strong not to be in danger of exercising a powerful and injurious influence over their conduct. Nor are your petitioners aware of any mode in which that injurious influence could be guarded against, except by conferring the appointments, like those of the judges, during good behaviour, which, by rendering it impossible to correct an error once committed, would be seriously objectionable.

"That your petitioners are equally unable to perceive how, if the controlling body is entirely nominated by the minister, that happy independence of parliamentary and party influence which has hitherto distinguished the administration of India, and the appointment to situations of trust and importance in that country, can be expected to continue. Your

petitioners believe that in no government known to history have appointments to offices, and especially to high offices, been so rarely bestowed on any other considerations than those of personal fitness. This characteristic, but for which in all probability India would long since have been lost to this country, is, your petitioners conceive, entirely owing to the circumstance that the dispensers of patronage have been persons unconnected with party, and under no necessity of conciliating parliamentary support, that consequently the appointments to offices in India have been, as a rule, left to the unbiased judgment of the local authorities, while the nominations to the civil and military services have been generally bestowed on the middle classes, irrespective of political considerations, and in a large proportion on the relatives of persons who had distinguished themselves by their services in India.

"That your petitioners therefore think it essential that at least a majority of the council which assists the minister for India with its advice, should hold their seats independently of his appointment.

"That it is, in the opinion of your petitioners, no less necessary that the order of the transaction of business should be such as to make the participation of the council in the administration of India a substantial one. That to this end it is, in the opinion of your petitioners, indispensable that the despatches to India should not be prepared by the minister and laid before the council, but should be prepared by the council, and submitted to the minister. This would be in accordance with the natural and obvious principle that persons, chosen for their knowledge of a subject, should suggest the mode of dealing with it, instead of merely giving their opinion on suggestions coming from elsewhere. This is also the only mode in which the members of the council can feel themselves sufficiently important, or sufficiently responsible, to secure their applying their minds to the subjects before them. It is almost unnecessary for your petitioners to observe, that the mind is called forth into far more vigorous action by being required to propose, than by being merely called on to assent. The minister has necessarily the ultimate decision. If he has also the initiative, he has all the powers which are of any practical moment. A body whose only recognised function was to find fault, would speedily let that function fall into desuetude. They would feel that co-operation in conducting the government of India was not really desired, that they were only felt as a clog on the wheels of business. Their criticism on what had been decided without their being collectively consulted would be felt as importunate as a mere delay and impediment, and their office would probably be seldom sought but by those who were willing to allow its most important duties to become nominal.

"That with the duty of preparing the despatches to India would naturally be combined the nomination and control of the home establishments. This your petitioners consider absolutely essential to the utility of the council. If the officers through whom they work are in direct dependence upon an authority higher than theirs all matters of importance will in reality be settled between the minister and the subordinates, passing over the council altogether.

"That a third consideration to which your petitioners attach great importance is that the number of the council should not be too restricted. India is so wide a field that a practical acquaintance with every part of its affairs cannot be found com-

bined in any small number of individuals. The council ought to contain men of general experience and knowledge of the world, also men specially qualified by financial and revenue experience, by judicial experience, diplomatic experience, military experience, it ought to contain persons conversant with the varied social relations and varied institutions of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, and the native states. Even the present Court of Directors reduced as it is in numbers by the act of 1833 does not contain all the varieties of knowledge and experience, desirable in such a body; neither, your petitioners submit, would it be safe to limit the number to that which would be strictly sufficient, supposing all the appointments to be the best possible. A certain margin should be allowed for failures, which, even with the most conscientious selection, will sometimes occur. Your petitioners moreover, cannot overlook the possibility, that if the nomination takes place by ministers at the head of a political party, it will not always be made with exclusive reference to personal qualifications, and it is indispensable to provide that such errors or faults in the nominating authority, so long as they are only occasional shall not seriously impair the efficiency of the body.

"That while these considerations plead strongly for a body not less numerous than the present, even if only regarded as advisers of the minister, their other office, as a check on the minister, forms, your petitioners submit, a no less forcible objection to any considerable reduction of the present number. A body of six or eight will not be equal to one of eighteen in that feeling of independent self reliance which is necessary to induce a public body to press its opinion on a minister to whom that opinion is unacceptable. However unobjectionable in other respects so small a body may be constituted reluctance to give offence will be likely unless in extreme cases, to be a stronger habitual inducement in their minds than the desire to stand up for their convictions.

"That if in the opinion of your honourable house, a body can be constituted which unites the above enumerated requisites of good government in a greater degree than the Court of Directors, your petitioners have only to express their humble hope that your endeavours for that purpose may be successful. But if in enumerating the conditions of a good system of home government for India your petitioners have in fact, enumerated the qualities possessed by the present system then your petitioners pray that your honourable house will continue the existing powers of the Court of Directors.

"That your petitioners are aware that the present home government of India is reproached with being a double government, and that any arrangement by which an independent check is provided to the discretion of the minister will be liable to a similar reproach. But they conceive that this accusation originates in an entire misconception of the functions devolving on the home government of India and in the application to it of the principles applicable to purely executive departments. The executive government of India is and must be seated in India itself. The Court of Directors is not so much an executive as a deliberative body. Its principal function and that of the home government generally is not to direct the details of administration but to scrutinise and revise the past acts of the

Indian government—to lay down principles and issue general instructions for their future guidance—and to give or refuse sanction to great political measures which are referred home for approval. These duties are more analogous in the functions of parliament than to those of an executive board, and it might almost as well be said that parliament, as that the government of India, should be constituted on the principles applicable to executive boards. It is considered an excellence not a defect, in the constitution of parliament, to be not merely a double but a triple government. An executive authority, your petitioners submit, may often with advantage be single, because promptitude is its first requisite. But the function of passing a deliberate opinion on past measures, and laying down principles of future policy, is a business which, in the estimation of your petitioners, admits of and requires the concurrence of more judgments than one. It is no defect in such a body to be double, and no excellence to be single, especially when it can only be made so by cutting off that branch of it which, by previous training, is always the best prepared—and often the only one which is prepared at all—for its peculiar duty.

"That your petitioners have heard it asserted that, in consequence of what is called the double government, the Indian authorities are less responsible to parliament and the nation than other departments of the government of the empire, since it is impossible to know on which of the two branches of home government the responsibility ought to rest. Your petitioners fearlessly affirm that this impression is not only groundless but the very reverse of the truth. The home government of India is not less, but more responsible than any other branch of the administration of the state, inasmuch as the president of the Board of Commissioners, who is the minister for India, is as completely responsible as any other of her majesty's ministers. And, in addition, his advisers also are responsible. It is always certain, in the case of India, that the president of this Board of Commissioners must have either commanded or sanctioned all that has been done. No more than this, your petitioners would submit, can be known in the case of the head of any department of her majesty's government. For it is not, nor can it rationally be supposed that any minister of the crown is without trusted advisers, and the minister for India must, for obvious reasons, be more dependent than any other of her majesty's ministers upon the advice of persons whose lives have been devoted to the subject on which their advice has been given. But in the case of India such advisers are assigned to him by the constitution of the government, and they are as much responsible for what they advise as he for what he ordains, while, in other departments the ministers' only official advisers are the subordinates in his office, men often of great skill and experience, but not in the public eye—often unknown to the public even by name; official reserve precludes the possibility of ascertaining what advice they give and they are responsible only to the minister himself. By what application of terms this can be called responsible government, and the joint government of your petitioners and the India Board an irresponsible government, your petitioners think it unnecessary to ask.

"That, without knowing the plan on which her majesty's ministers contemplate the transfer to the crown of the servants of the Company your petitioners find themselves unable to approach the

delicate question of the Indian army, further than to point out that the high military qualities of the officers of that army have unquestionably sprung in a great degree, from its being a principal and substantive army, holding her majesty's commissions, and enjoying equal rank with her majesty's officers, and your petitioners would earnestly deprecate any change in that position.

"That your petitioners, having regard to all these considerations, humbly pray your honourable house that you will not give your sanction to any change in the constitution of the Indian government during the continuance of the present unhappy disturbances, nor without a full previous inquiry into the operation of the present system. And your petitioners further pray that this inquiry may extend to every department of Indian administration. Such an inquiry your petitioners respectfully claim, not only as a matter of justice to themselves, but because when, for the first time in this century, the thoughts of every public man in the country are fixed on India, an inquiry would be more thorough, and its results would carry much more instruction to the mind of parliament and of the country than at any preceding period."

During the reading of the above important protest, the several passages which referred to the successful efforts of the East India Company in adding an empire to the dominions of the British crown, to the advantages which that empire had derived from their government, the efficiency of all their departments, and more especially to their objections to leave the appointment of the controlling body and the higher offices in the hands of ministers, were loudly cheered by the Court. Ultimately, the petition was ordered to be printed preparatory to the opening of the session; and the further consideration of the resolution submitted to the Court on the 13th of January, was again adjourned.

An incident occurred about the beginning of 1858, which established a very considerable and acceptable deviation from the practice that had hitherto existed with regard to the bestowal of honours for services rendered to the country. Previous to the outbreak of the Indian rebellion, it had been the custom to confer titles and distinctions for services in the field at the end of a campaign, or even of a war, when hope had been long deferred, and when, too often, some of the most worthy were beyond the reach of mortal praise, but in this Indian war, by a judicious exercise of discretion on the part of the advisers of the sovereign, it became usual to confer honours on the deserving while their meritorious deeds were yet fresh, and their names were in the mouths of all men. The course of events had, in fact, become so

rapid, and leader after leader had been struck down so suddenly by the sword, or by disease or exhaustion, that the old practice would have been little better than a mockery and even under the improved system that had been introduced in this respect, honours too frequently became posthumous. The baronetcy conferred on General Havelock, as soon as the official despatches of his last achievement reached home, proved to have been granted too late, and it became evidently necessary that the queen's government should lose no time in rewarding military merit. As an earnest of this intention, immediately upon the receipt of Sir Colin Campbell's despatches with the report of Colonel Inglis, describing the defence of the residency at Lucknow, the latter gallant officer was promoted to the rank of major general, and the *Gazette* of the 19th of January announced, that the baronetcy which was to have been conferred upon the late Sir Henry Havelock, had been granted to the eldest son, and, in default of direct issue, to the other sons of the deceased general, and by the same authority it was declared, that the widow of the general had been raised by the queen to the rank which would have been her's if her husband had lived to receive the dignity intended for him.

The discussions at the India House upon the resolution and petition proposed for adoption, on the 13th and 20th of January,\* continued by successive adjournments to the 28th of the month, when both were unanimously adopted, and the necessary steps were ordered to be taken for the presentation of the petition as soon as parliament should meet.

It has already been stated that, in the autumn of 1856, the queen mother of Oude, with two princes of the royal family, arrived in England, for the purpose of submitting in person, to the queen and parliament, their complaints of the wrong to which their country and family had been

subjected by the East India Company in the annexation of the kingdom of Oude. Some time after her majesty's arrival in this country, an audience was obtained of the queen, whose reception of the royal suppliant for justice was represented at the time as having been gracious and cordial. Shortly after this incident, petitions were presented by the royal strangers to both houses of parliament, meeting with the result already described. The queen of Oude continued to reside near the metropolis, in a kind of semi state, attended by a numerous retinue, until tidings of the revolt of the Bengal army, and the suspected complicity of her son, the king of Oude, in an insurrectionary movement, reached this country, accompanied by the announcement of his imprisonment in Fort William. She immediately appealed to both houses of parliament, denying the imputation against the loyalty of her son and family, and prayed for redress and for permission to communicate with the imprisoned king. The mode in which this appeal of a queen and mother was received by the hereditary legislators of the British empire, has already been recorded†. It is only necessary to repeat, that its reception was objected to upon the ground of informality, and the appeal of an aggrieved and sorrowing princess, who had endured the perils of a long and hazardous voyage from her native country, to seek justice at its fount upon earth, was necessarily withdrawn.

From this time the royal strangers remained in comparative obscurity, until the queen obtained permission to leave the country, with her son and grandson, on a visit to Mecca, and for that purpose reached Paris, en route for Egypt. Here the unfortunate lady—whose health had been destroyed by disappointment, anxiety, and sorrow—was overtaken by death on the 23rd of January. Preparations for the obsequies were made in accordance with the rites of her religion,‡ and the funeral

\* See ante pp 446-447

† See vol. I., pp 632-634

‡ The ceremony observed upon the embalmment of the body of the queen of Oude, was thus described.—"It was found necessary to construct a kind of wooden platform in the courtyard of the hotel where the body of the princess could undergo the ceremony of thorough ablution. The features of the deceased were but very little changed. No incisions were made for the operation of embalming, as is usual in Europe; the people of the suite who themselves effected the operation introduced aromatic substances and perfumery through the mouth, ears, and

nostrils and repeatedly anointed the body with odiferous oils and essences. The body was afterwards, wrapt round with bands of fine muslin and the whole covered with a crimson cloth embroidered in gold. After this had been done the religious service commenced. The females, whether relatives of the deceased or ladies of the palace, and after wards the officers and servants, entered successively into the chamber where the body was laid out, and where two priests recited the prayers prescribed by the religion in which the princess had lived. The females uttered deep groans and the men showed every sign of grief. No light was burning in the

took place on the 27th of the month. The remains of the queen, deposited in a coffin of peculiar shape, were placed in a hearse drawn by six horses caparisoned in white. The hearse was covered with a cloth embroidered with gold, and surrounded with white draperies, bearing the letter "M," thirteen mourning coaches followed the hearse. Mirza Hasmat Le kendal Bahadur (the youngest son of the deceased), and Mirza Nadir (her grandson), walked close after the hearse. The Hindoos who formed the queen's suite followed in the mourning carriages. Two priests belonging to the religion professed by the queen of Oude, were in the procession. The cortege left the Rue Laffitte, and followed the Boulevards to Pere la Chaise, where the corpse was interred in the Musulman cemetery, being the first grave opened in that ground. The coffin, previous to the interment, was carried into the mosque, where prayers were recited by the priests. At this moment the Indian followers gave way to loud lamentations. The queen's age was stated to be fifty-three.

The princes of Oude, after assisting in the ceremonial, returned to London, and were soon lost sight of amongst the shifting masses of which metropolitan society is composed. But few months, however, intervened before attention was again directed to the hapless family, two out of the three princes having followed the late queen to a European grave.

On Thursday, the 4th of February, parliament met, pursuant to adjournment from the 12th of December. On the 6th, a bill was introduced by Mr V Smith, to empower the East India Company to raise £10,000,000 by way of loan, for the service of the government of India, and on the 8th, Baron Parnore in the upper house, and Viscount Palmerston in the Commons, severally moved the thanks of parliament to the governor general and the civil, military, and naval services employed in India. The motion in each case was illustrated by reference to the career and achievements of each of the leaders and corps mentioned in the resolution, and the noble secretary-at-room put a fire lighted in the court, which was according to custom to be kept burning until after the body had been removed. On the day appointed for the funeral, a prince of the royal family of Oude, probably the uncle of the sovereign confined at Calcutta, arrived from London. He was a man of about fifty years of age, tall and rather corpulent.

war expatiated with much eloquence upon the courage, coolness, and administrative talent displayed through a period of terrible emergency by the governor general of India, virtues of which the existence was questioned by the Earl of Derby, who regretted that "the terms of the resolution were so framed, as to include in the vote of thanks certain persons holding high office in India, and he objected to any formal expression of approval as regarded the governor general, whom the noble lord considered it would be time enough to thank when he had thoroughly overcome the difficulties created by his maladministration."—In the lower house, Mr Disraeli suggested the omission of Lord Canning's name from the resolution, and in default of such omission, declared his intention to move the previous question, and get rid of the vote of thanks altogether.—In the Lords the motion was carried with unanimity, and in the Commons, after a short but sharp discussion, in which the conduct of the governor general was impugned by one party, and strenuously defended by the other. Mr Disraeli withdrew his opposition, and the resolution was put and carried *nem con*.

On the following day, Earl Grey in the Lords, and Mr T Baring in the Commons, presented the petition from the East India Company, of which a copy has already been inserted in this volume\*. No discussion took place upon this occasion in the lower house, the document being simply laid on the table. At length, on Friday, February 12th, Lord Palmerston moved for leave to bring in a bill for transferring from the East India Company to the crown the government of her majesty's dominions in the East Indies. He brought forward this measure, he said, not out of any hostility to the Company on the ground of any delinquency on their part, or as implying any blame or censure on that body, which had done many good things for India, and whose administration had been attended with great advantages to the population under their rule. The Company's political authority, he observed, had not been conferred, it had grown up gradually and accidentally from small beginnings—factories

On his forehead he wore a diadem ornamented with diamonds and rubies; and all the officers and servants prostrated themselves before him. He was conducted into the chamber where the body was lying, and evinced marks of the deepest affliction; but he did not accompany the funeral process on

\* See ante, p. 41.

extending to districts, and districts being enlarged into provinces. When, however, their commercial privileges were withdrawn, the Company became but a phantom of what it was, and subsided into an agency of the imperial government, without, however, responsibility to parliament, or any immediate connection with India. He pointed out the obvious inconveniences incident to the double government by the Board of Control and a Court of Directors elected by a body consisting of holders of East India stock. He admitted that a system of check was beneficial, but check and counter check might be so multiplied as to paralyse action, and he thought it was desirable that this cumbrous machinery should be reduced in form to what it was in fact, and that complete authority should vest where the public thought complete responsibility should rest, instead of nominally in an irresponsible body, ostensibly a company of merchants. The bill would be construed to a change of the administration at home, without any alteration of the arrangements in India the intention being to alter as little as possible, consistently with the great object in view, the establishment of a responsible government for India, as for other territories of the crown. He proposed that the functions of the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors should cease, and that there should be substituted a president and council for the affairs of India, the president to be a member of the cabinet, and the councillors to be named by the crown, eight in number, who should be appointed for eight years. It was proposed that the decision of the president, who would be the organ of the government, should be final, but that if the councillors dissented from his opinion they should have the right to record their opinion in minutes, and on matters concerning the Indian revenue, it was intended that the president should have the concurrence of four councillors. He proposed that the council should have the power of distributing the business among themselves, that the president should be placed upon the footing of a secretary of state, and that the councillors should have salaries of £1 000 a year. It was proposed that while all the powers now vested in the Court of Directors should be transferred to this council all appointments in India now made by the local authorities should continue to be made, that the president should be authorised to appoint one secretary capable of sitting

in that house, but it was not proposed that the councillors should be capable of sitting in parliament. There was one matter of constitutional difficulty which, he remarked, had always been the foundation of an objection to this change—namely, the patronage. With regard, however, to the local appointments, they would continue to be made in India. Members of the local councils like wise would be made by the governor general. Arrangements had already been made by which writerships were obtained by open competition, and this system would be continued. Cadetships had hitherto been divided between the Court of Directors and the president of the Board of Control, and it was proposed to leave them to the president and council. The final appointment of both would depend upon their efficiency in India. A certain portion of the cadetships would be reserved for the sons of Indian officers. There would, therefore, be no additional patronage thrown into the hands of the government which could provoke the slightest constitutional jealousy. As the president and council would possess the powers of the existing secret committee it was proposed that, in any case where orders were sent to India involving the commencement of hostilities, they should be communicated to parliament within one month. The revenues of India would, of course, be applied solely to the purposes of the Indian government, and auditors would be appointed to examine the expenditure of the revenue and their audit would be laid before parliament. In conclusion, Lord Palmerston replied to anticipated objections, expressing his conviction that the change he proposed, while it strengthened the power of England in India would, on the other hand, better enable the government to discharge those duties towards the people of India which it was intended that this nation should perform.—Mr T. Baring, in moving by way of amendment to the motion, a resolution, 'that it is not at present expedient to legislate for the government of India,' dwelt upon the extent and formidable character of the proposed change, the alarm which it would excite in the minds of the people of India and the power which it threw into the hands of the government. No charge he observed, had been made against the East India Company, and he entreated the house to pause before it adopted the plan in the present state of affairs in India.—Sir E. Perry thought, on 455.



the contrary, that this was the fittest and most opportune moment for introducing a measure of this kind, that the mind of the British public and the attention of parliament were now occupied with Indian affairs, and all accounts from India showed that some great change was anticipated there. His opinion was, that the present system was an effete, useless, and cumbrous machine, which had not accomplished the object which it was intended to effect, the Court of Directors being now a mere *caput mortuum*, while the Board of Control escaped responsibility—Mr Milnes considered that no facts had been put forward to show that the progress of events in India had been checked by the action of the double government, or that it had contributed to the mutiny. In his opinion, India would not be better governed by the despotism of a cabinet minister. He had expected that Lord Palmerston would have offered some plea for the measure, but he had been disappointed—Mr W Vansittart insisted that before a change was proposed, an inquiry into the causes and circumstances of the late mutiny in India was imperatively demanded—Mr Ayrton said that, having gone to India with every prejudice in favour of the government of the East India Company, he had come to the conclusion, after a residence there, that the continuance of the rule of that remnant of a trading company was not only highly inexpedient, but impossible. He disputed the allegations in the Company's petition, which he said, put forth misstatements and arrogant pretensions—The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the petition of the East India Company had received fully as much praise as it deserved, and that a public document like that ought not only to be distinguished by composition and style, but should be based upon undeniable facts and cogent reasoning. There were two main assumptions in that document, one, that the East India Company had acquired our Eastern empire, the other, that their government was the best government that the civilised world had ever produced. With respect to the first, assuming that the acquisition of territory in India had been advantageous to the country, he disputed the doctrine that it had been acquired by the policy of the East India Company, it had been acquired by Clive, Hastings and other Indian conquerors, and by governors appointed by the crown, in spite of

repeated instructions of the trading company not to acquire territory. In examining the other assumption, Sir C Lewis traced the history of parliamentary control of Indian administration from the Regulating Act of 1773, and read an extract from the well known resolutions moved by Mr Burke in 1781, containing a fearful picture of the Company's government of that day, and he asserted that there existed evidence damatory of the Company as a political body from 1768 to 1784, showing that no civilised government on the face of the earth was more corrupt, perfidious, and rapacious. All that could be said in favour of the East India Company dated, he observed, from the year 1784, after they had been subjected to parliamentary control. The establishment of the Board of Control totally altered the constitution of the Company as a political body, placing them, as regarded their governing powers, in a purely subordinate position. In 1813 the trading monopoly of the Company was taken away, and, in 1833 the whole of their trading powers were abolished, and they were merely retained as a political engine subordinate to the crown. In 1853 further changes were made in the constitution of the Court of Directors, and the fallacy in the petition consisted in supposing the East India Company to be one and indivisible, and that they had remained unchanged from the battle of Plassey to the last renewal of their charter. He agreed that there was no ground for imputing blame to the Company as to the origin of the mutiny, but the present state of things had brought under the consideration of the executive government the clumsiness, inefficiency, and complexity of the present form of the home government of India. It was a composite body, the parts acting and reacting upon each other defined by act of parliament, and which parliament could at any time remodel, and he thought it would be more satisfactory if parliament would fix the executive authority for Indian affairs in this country, with full responsibility, upon the ministers of the crown. He then reviewed briefly the details of the proposed plan, pointing out its relative and positive advantages, and, with regard to the question of patronage on which Mr Fox's India Bill was wrecked, he contended that it could not be said that this bill would confer any increase of patronage upon the crown—Mr Manley, in replying to the chancellor of the

exchequer, defended the allegations in the Company's petition, and quoted testimony borne by Lord Macaulay to the character of the Company's government prior to 1784. He argued strongly against the proposed measure on account of the time, and the effect which the change might produce upon the natives of India. It was, he said, most desirable, if such a change as that proposed was to be made, that it should be introduced at a time when India was tranquil, when the minds of the people were not alienated from each other, and especially when the native population were not distracted by the apprehension that their religious opinions were to be strongly and violently interfered with. The debate was adjourned, at the close of Mr Mangles' speech, upon the motion of Mr Roebuck, until the following Monday, when that honourable gentleman resumed it by remarking that, in the acquisition of India, we had broken through almost every rule of morality, that we had exhibited great valour and intelligence, but not great virtue. In framing a plan of government that would be capable of maintaining order, and conducing to the happiness of the people there were, he observed, three courses open for choice, viz., that of maintaining the present double government, or handing back the entire authority to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, or adopting the bill of Lord Palmerston. With respect to the first course, the double government destroyed all responsibility. As to the second, there had never been a worse government known to the world than that of the Court of Directors, as testified by Lord Macaulay, a great defender of the Company, they were not, therefore, the persons he would trust with the government of India. There remained only the bill in question, which, with certain changes indicated by him, he thought would be the best home administration for India. If this was the right course, he begged the house not to be frightened by a cry of opposition, but to adopt it at once.—Sir H. Rawlinson observed that the change of the government of India was two-fold, in England, by the abolition of the double government, and in India by the proclamation of the queen's name. To show the complex and dilatory machinery of the double government at home, he described what he termed the gestation of an Indian despatch, and he asked whether there could be a more obstructive

and unbusiness like system. The sooner the double government, therefore, was done away, in his opinion, the better. With respect to the change in India, he believed that, with the exception of a very small section of the covenanted civil servants, the European community and the officers of the Indian army would prefer the government of the crown to that of the Company. In considering the effect of the change upon the natives of India, he observed that, among the great mass of the population, owing to their docility and susceptibility, individual character and influence had more effect than any abstract question of government. But among the educated classes it was different, he believed that they understood the distinction between the crown and the Company as well as we did, and he never heard a doubt of their preferring the government of the former. With regard to the most important question—that of the time, it was his honest opinion that it was favourable for the change, and that the proclamation of the queen's name would produce good effects. By approving the principle of the bill, and deprecating delay, however, he did not commit himself to an unqualified approval of its details there being parts to which he could not assent.—Sir J. Walsh argued that the double government contained useful elements, that it brought local knowledge to bear upon the supreme board. Nothing was so simple as absolute power, but Englishmen desired checks and limitations, which involved complexity and delay. He complained of the extent of the patronage which the bill would vest in the government, who would have the disposal of a revenue of £30,000,000, with only a phantom of control on the part of that house. The consequence of the measure would be, that public opinion would be brought to bear upon the ministry, and might force upon them a line of policy, with respect to the extension of Christianity in India, that would lead to the destruction of our empire, and he therefore would vote for the amendment.—Several other members followed in the same strain, and at 1 A.M. the house adjourned upon the motion of Colonel Sykes.

On the 16th, the progress of the discussion upon Lord Palmerston's bill was interrupted by Mr H. Baines, who had a motion on the paper to call the attention of the house to the causes which had led to the rebellion in her majesty's dominions in the

Last, and for copies of a secret despatch, signed by the president of the Board of Control, in the year 1831, addressed to Lord William Bentinck, and ordering him to annex or otherwise assume the administration of the kingdom of Oude, of the despatch of Lord William Bentinck, explaining his reasons for not carrying those orders into effect, of the correspondence which took place, through the secret department of the India House, between the president of the Board of Control and the governor general of India, in the years 1833, 1834, and 1835, in reference to the annexation of Oude, and copy of a note or minute signed by Sir Henry Ellis, when a member of the Board of Control, explaining his reasons for dissenting from the projected annexation of Oude—Lord Palmerston appealed to the honourable member not to bring forward his motion now. The subject to which he was about to call the attention of the house was a sort of parenthesis to that on which the debate was adjourned, and he thought it would be better to allow the house to come to a conclusion on the latter first—Mr Baillie said there might have been some reason for his giving way if this had been an ordinary occasion, but it was not an ordinary occasion. The house was called upon to legislate for India, without any information having been accorded to it with reference to the rebellion of that country. The motion which he was about to bring under the notice of the house might possibly throw some light on it, and therefore he thought the noble lord would admit he was justified in bringing it forward before any decision was taken on the bill. He then proceeded to state what he believed to be the real cause of the rebellion—namely, Mohammedan impatience of Christian rule, the former having taken advantage of the state of India through the policy that had been pursued there, with a reckless disregard of consequences. Eminent Indian statesmen had recorded their opinions, that the wholesale annexation of native states was both impolitic and unjust, and he then enumerated the states which, since 1833, when the annexation policy commenced, had been incorporated with the British dominions in India. "First of all" said the honourable member, "we began with the small state of Coorg, that was followed by the annexation of Satara, then came, at no great distance of time, the annexation of the immense territory of the

Amcers of Scinde, next the annexation of the Punjab, after that, of the territory of Pegu, then of Nagpore, and, finally, the seizure of the kingdom of Oude. All these territories, and some other smaller principalities, had been annexed to our Indian empire within that short period, without the addition to the army of a single European soldier. It was, of course, perfectly impossible to guard these newly acquired territories without the presence of European soldiers. The territory of Scinde, for instance, required the presence of a considerable European force for a long time, the occupation of the Punjab required a force of more than 10,000 men—half of the queen's troops serving in India, the occupation of Pegu employed several European regiments, and to furnish these troops, the British government was compelled to withdraw all its garrisons from the great stations of Central India, so that when this rebellion broke out there were but two European regiments between Delhi and Calcutta, including the newly acquired territory of Oude. All the great stations of Allahabad, Cawnpore, Dinapore, Agra, Beoares, were committed to the guardianship of the sepoy of the Bengal army. That was a distribution of forces which offered a favourable opportunity for the revolt which broke out. The government of India had many means of knowing the great dissatisfaction and discontent which were caused in the Bengal army by the annexation of Oude, and they must have been aware of the fact. He knew that many private letters had come to this country after the annexation, from officers commanding regiments in the Bengal army, stating that their men had gone to them in crowds, asking why the king of Oude had been dethroned, and he remembered being told by an honourable member, long before the rebellion broke out, that thousands of petitions were being sent up from the troops of the Bengal army against the annexation of Oude. Surely these facts must have been known to the government of India, and they ought to have convinced them that no great dependence was to be placed in a body of men who were dissatisfied and discontented, and who had shown of late years most unmistakable symptoms of a disposition to mutiny whenever they had a grievance to complain of. He gave no opinion regarding the wisdom of the annexation policy, but he complained of

the faulty manner in which it had been carried out. Some of these acts might be, others were not, measures of necessity, but he confined himself to what he considered to be the immediate cause of the late disasters in India—the annexation of Oude. He traced the history of this measure, in which, he said, Lord Dalhousie had been merely an instrument, and condemned, in severe terms, the plea or pretext for seizing the possessions of the king of Oude—namely, the oppressiveness of his government—which, in his opinion, was more disgusting than open violence. He thought the government of India would be better employed in reforming its own internal administration, than in wasting the resources of the country in annexing native states. He concluded by moving for certain papers—Mr V Smith observed, that Mr Baillie had not thrown much light upon the causes of the mutiny of the Bengal army: he had dwelt upon only one cause, the annexation of Oude, and it was notorious that we had made no advance in the knowledge of the real causes of the mutiny. Mr Baillie had alleged that the policy of annexation had begun in 1833, but he was completely mistaken. There never had been a policy of annexation, which would be a policy of acquisition, and no government had laid down such a policy. He was sorry to hear Mr Baillie say that the annexation of Oude was discreditable to Lord Dalhousie. That measure had been long before the house, and he contended that Lord Dalhousie had acted in the transaction with great discretion. The king of Oude had been distinctly warned by Lord W Bentinck and Lord Hardinge, that if he refused to reform his government he would forfeit his throne. The oppression of his people was the ground of his deposition, and all the authorities in India which the government consulted at the time were in favour of the measure. He made no opposition to the motion.

Lord John Russell objected to the impression created by Mr Baillie's reference to Lord Dalhousie, who, he said, had governed India for six or seven years with great ability, devoting thereto his time, his talents, and his health, and he (Lord John) thought it unfair that imputations should be cast upon that nobleman's character. The case of Oude was one of half a century's duration, and the misgovernment of that country was so notorious in

1801, that Lord Wellesley found it necessary to interfere, and concluded a treaty with the nawab nizier, which pledged the prince to act in conformity with the advice of the Company. That treaty was constantly violated, and the subsidiary force, under British officers, was employed in the odious office of enforcing the vicious rule of a corrupt and debased court—Lord John Manners maintained that the present king did really listen to, and act upon, the advice given to him, and that the general charge to the contrary was not substantiated by facts. He asserted that the treaty entered into with the king of Oude, in 1837, which prohibited the annexation of any part of the dominions of that prince, had been kept out of sight, and contended, if that treaty was in force in 1856, the annexation was a flagrant violation of it. That treaty bore date the 11th of September, and had been ratified by the governor general in council, and the 7th and 8th articles of it prohibited the annexation of any portion of the territory of Oude. The 7th article set forth, that the British government, in order to remedy some defects in the system of police, claimed to themselves the right of appointing its own officers, and of having the expenditure connected with their maintenance defrayed out of a certain territory in the kingdom of Oude, while, in the 8th article, it was declared that steps would be taken to place the territory thus assumed upon such a footing as to facilitate its restoration to the sovereign of Oude when the proper time arrived. Now, he would ask, could it be justly contended that the annexation of Oude was not a palpable violation of the treaty of 1837? It had, indeed, been alleged by Lord Dalhousie, that, from the first moment the government at home had become aware of the existence of that treaty, they had entirely disannulled and disallowed it. He could show that Lord Auckland, a year afterwards, was totally ignorant of the disallowance of that treaty. Lord Dalhousie had declared more than once, in the most distinct manner, that as soon as the treaty was brought to the knowledge of the government at home, it was disallowed. Now, in a letter written by Lord Auckland to the king of Oude, dated "Simla, July 8th, 1839," there was this passage—

"May the Omnipotent of everlasting dignity continue to preserve ever fresh and

verdant, by the showers of His grace and mercy, the garden of the wealth and prosperity of your majesty, the ornament of the throne of grandeur and exaltation. Let it not remain beneath the veil of secrecy and concealment, or be hidden from the light reflecting mirror of your mind, that lately much discussion has been carried on between the Court of Directors of exalted dignity and myself, by means of a written correspondence, touching the recent treaty of the 11th of September, 1837. Now, taking into consideration that the expense entailed by the auxiliary force—viz, sixteen lacs (£160,000 sterling) per annum, might be the cause of interrupting the administration and amelioration of your kingdom, the said expense became the subject of their grave deliberations. From the period you ascended the throne your majesty has, in comparison with times past, greatly improved the kingdom, and I have, in consequence, been authorised by the Court of Directors to inform you, that 'if I think it advisable for the present, I may' relieve your majesty from part of the clause of the treaty alluded to, by which clause expense is laid upon your majesty.

"Hoping that your majesty may continue to rule your country, as you have hitherto done, with justice, equity, and anxiety for the welfare of your subjects,

"I am, &c.—AUCKLAND"

If Lord Dalhousie's statement, that the home government disavowed the treaty as soon as they heard of it were correct, the declaration made by Lord Auckland, in July, 1839, and just quoted by him, was either a deliberate fiction, or a gross and scandalous concealment of the facts from the king. It was impossible to reconcile the opposite statements made by the two governors general, and it was necessary, not only for the vindication of Lord Dalhousie, but to relieve the memory of Lord Auckland from the dishonouring suppositions which at present attached to it, that these extraordinary discrepancies should, if possible, be explained.

His lordship then proceeded to detail the policy subsequently adopted to cover the undeclared rejection of the treaty by the Court of Directors, which he stigmatised as a species of Old Bailey chicanery, by which the lives and property of men might be swindled and juggled away—Mr Mangles, as a member of the Court of Directors, professed himself ready to take his full share

of responsibility for the annexation of Oude, which he believed was a just and necessary measure. The government of Oude, from the commencement of the reign of the family now deposed, had been, he said, the worst in the world, uniting all the vices of an Asiatic government, while the people were controlled by the iron hand of European civilisation. He dwelt upon the violations of the treaty, upon the warnings given to the king, upon the neglect with which representations were treated by him, and upon the lawless condition of the country—which fully justified, in his opinion, the extreme measure of annexation. With regard to the treaty of 1837, it was the fact, as stated by Lord Dalhousie, that it was disallowed by the Court of Directors, although it was true that Lord Auckland did not tell the king of Oude that the whole of that treaty had been abrogated. He did not believe that the annexation of Oude had any appreciable effect upon the mutiny, and he read a letter from Sir John Lawrence, stating as his opinion, that although it was possible the king of Oude might have had something to do with the mutiny, the Hindoo population of Oude were in favour of the annexation, and that the mutiny sprang from the sepoys themselves. Mr Mangles mentioned instances in which natives had maintained the authority of government at stations deserted by the civil officers, and asked whether these facts were compatible with the notion that it was a rebellion, in his opinion, it was a military mutiny from the beginning—Colonel Sykes, likewise a director of the Company, spoke of the disorganisation of the Oude territories, which were governed, he said, by an ignorant and voluptuous king, who took no part in public affairs. Districts were farmed out to officers, who paid or retained the revenue in proportion to their powers of retention.

The most extraordinary speech delivered in the course of this important and interesting debate, was made by General Thompson, member for Bradford, who thus delivered himself of a torrent of accusation and invective. "He was not," he said, "himself an eminent man, but he knew hundreds of men who thought they could discern the causes of the late insurrection, and who wondered that practised statesmen did not do the same. The mistake of filling the native army with the natives of Oude had

been adverted to; but other causes had been in operation for a series of years. High authorities had said that, in order to enable men to rule in India, it was necessary that there should be no interference with the religion of the natives, and that the increase of European colonists or planters should be discouraged. They rightly said that an interference with the religion of the natives would be resented by them as it would be by Englishmen at home, and that the introduction of colonists would lead to that horrible war of races which could only end in the extirpation or subjugation of the weaker party. The continual irritation caused by religious bodies in India had something to do with it. Being 'to the manner born,' he knew the strength as well as the infirmity of these bodies. He rejoiced over their strength, and lamented their infirmity, which was, that when the precept of doing to others as they would be done unto was in question, they always made an exception in the case, in which 'I by myself I' was one party, and the other was a person of a different creed. The planter or colonist spirit in India had long been increasing. It was a grievance among men of this stamp when a man of Indian complexion rose to station and position, and their organs had recently insisted that every native ought to pay a mark of respect to a European on passing him, which was a clear demonstration of Virginian planterism. Was there no danger in such a spirit, when a handful of Europeans were engaged against 150,000,000 native inhabitants? There had been much irritation in the native army, and a great and well founded suspicion that efforts were being made to injure them in their religion. The colonel of a native regiment having made attempts to convert his men to Christianity, a sepoy had been induced, under the influence of liquor, to shoot the adjutant's horse. He was hanged, perhaps very properly; but the native officer, who was charged with not having been nimble enough in arresting this sepoy, was hanged also. In his opinion, if the colonel had been substituted for the native officer, a great act of substantial justice, if not of sound policy, would have been performed. The soldiers of a native cavalry regiment, who were a sort of yeomen, were ordered to put greased cartridges in their mouths, which was sentencing them to lose their standing and reputation with their family and friends, and which, in short, was about

as great a mixture of insult and injury as if a party of our dragoons had been sent to the veterinary surgeon to undergo the operation usual with cavalry horses. The native soldiers respectfully declined, as would have been the case in our own regiments, and then eighty-five of these unhappy men were ordered to be imprisoned in irons, and set to work on the roads for ten years. Upon this moderate and delicate sentence being pronounced, the rest of the regiment turned out, and the mutiny began. Men were caught, hunted, blown from guns, hung, and otherwise executed in consequence, and then, forsooth, wonder was expressed that in a town where the native party had the upper hand, reprisals were made. Reprisals never did much good. Nevertheless, it was in the nature of man to make them. If an Alva or a Tilly had been in similar circumstances, he would have known, that to do what was done by us at Delhi, to wait until 600 persons were upon the magazine before blowing it up, would have been an act which, whether praiseworthy or not, would have certainly been followed by the destruction of as many of his own party as were in the hands of his enemy. He would, doubtless, have told his adherents they might be thankful that their brethren had died like martyrs, but he would never have complained of their destruction as a hardship. How many things had since then been done in India calculated to prevent the possibility of the insurrection subsiding? He declared that if he were placed in a position in which his chief aim should be to shoot down, hang, burn, destroy, and do everything in his power to prevent the recovery of the British dominion, he should do exactly the deeds which had been done, if he had had the examples we had set to teach him, because many of the things which had been done in India were such as would never have entered the mind of any ordinary man. He referred to the slaughter of the native princes at Delhi. He could not, without infringing on the rights of conscience, designate that act by any other name than one of the foulest murders and atrocities recorded in human history ('Oh! Oh!'). He could assure the honourable gentleman who said 'Oh!' that in parts of this country a very different sound was raised on finding that this great dishonour had been done to the English name—a dishonour which would never be got over while history lasted. He had seen three different accounts of this affair, two of

which, professing to be exculpatory of those concerned, introduced the words 'emissaries' and 'negotiations.' There could be no doubt that these unhappy princes had been deceived. A British officer in these days was tantamount to an executioner. The cloth had been dishonoured, our officers had in person adjusted the rope—they had seen that it slipped easily—the thing had not been done by another hand—it was a commissioned hand that had done it. They boasted, too, that they had tortured their victims, and talked of how they had hanged them. He was unwilling to go into details, because there were those who could not answer for themselves, for now both the tortured and the torturer were before their God. He believed that the Brahmin would have the best of it. Posterity and mankind in general would judge severely of all these acts, and we should have the shame and disgrace left for us. It was, in truth, a sore evil and affliction. Indeed, he sometimes wondered what any one of us could have done that such men should have been decreed to be our countrymen. Ay, and the torturers with glee recounted how they had 'hung them like fun!' He begged pardon for making such a quotation in Mr Speaker's presence, but it showed the kind of men who had got the upper hand in India. And with all this before them, our statesmen were still doubting what could have been the possible cause of this Indian insurrection! There was a time when the opinion was once declared, that it was very unbecoming to look into causes. If those causes were now in continued action, it would not, he thought, be so very imprudent to look into and recognise them. He had, therefore, to thank the honourable gentleman opposite (Mr Baillie) for having brought forward this question, and he would be most happy if, in the opinion of any honourable member present, he should be thought to have thrown any light upon the subject. The gallant general resumed his seat amidst the derisive laughter of the house—Mr Palk had been prepared to hear wild theories enunciated on points of policy on the other side of the house but he had certainly never expected to have his feelings so outraged as by the speech to which they had just listened. He had never expected that those who had polluted and butchered the wives and daughters of our officers, who had tortured and murdered infants, who had outraged every feeling of

humanity, would find a defender in that house. Least of all had he expected that one who had held a distinguished command over regiments which owned the sovereignty of this country, would have raised his voice in what was still a Christian house of parliament to defend the atrocities of the sepoys in India. He was afraid to trust himself to speak further on such a subject, so strong was his indignation. He bowed at once with deference to those who were much older than himself, and who had much greater experience, but, with the name he bore, he should be wanting in those feelings which, he believed, actuated every gentleman in that house, and every man who represented any constituency, if he sat quiet and did not enter his protest against a speech which, he trusted, would never be copied in that assembly.

After some observations from other members, the motion of Mr Baillie was agreed to, and the house adjourned, without resuming the consideration of the bill for the government of India.

On the 18th of February, the debate on Lord Palmerston's bill for the future government of India, was resumed by Colonel Sykes, who strongly objected to the change proposed, and defended the administration of the Company. He was followed by Sir Charles Wood, who contended that, since 1784, the Court of Directors had not been the exclusive and independent government of India, and that, by the act of 1853, which he had introduced, the Court ceased to be an independent body, one third of the members being nominees of the crown. It was not then deemed expedient to make a more extensive change, but he had stated that, on some future occasion, a further alteration might be necessary, and that the then measure was calculated to render the change easier. It was left open to parliament at that time, without breach of faith, or any inconsistency with the act of 1853, to do that which many thought was then indispensable—namely, to govern India in the name of the queen. Altogether, considering that the delays and shortcomings which had led to the present crisis, were attributable to the double government, he contended it would be wise to place the control of India at once, and especially at this time, in the hands of the crown, and carry it on in the name of the sovereign—Sir F. Bulwer Lytton characterised the measure as audacious,

incomplete, and unconsidered. He declared that political changes among Orientals were always suspected; and argued, that the peculiar state of India at the present time, and the circumstances under which the measure had been brought forward, would aggravate suspicion, and increase the evils it professed to remedy—Mr Willoughby, an East India director, spoke warmly in support of the Company's government, and protested against the charges of inefficiency and neglect that had been brought against it—Lord John Russell urged an immediate settlement of the question as to a system of government which would best secure the welfare of a great empire and the happiness of millions of people—Mr Disraeli followed his lordship in the debate, and said, if he had thought a change in the direction recommended by her majesty's ministers would draw the inhabitants of Hindostan nearer to this country, and improve their condition, he was not of opinion that the operation of this measure would produce that effect, quite the contrary. There was one subject which had been lost sight of in this discussion—namely, the financial part of the question. It was idle to pretend that there would be, after the proposed change, any distinction between the finances of India and those of England, that if the exchequer of India was empty, that of England would not be liable. If this be true, before the house agreed to the introduction of this bill it should ask what were to be the financial relations between England and India. At this moment, there was a deficit in India of about £2,000,000, and that deficiency would be necessarily doubled and quadrupled. Before the house and the country incurred this responsibility, they ought to know the resources of India, and how they were to be managed. What was wanted was a total change in the local administration of India itself. The revenue derived from the land could not be increased, and it was raised in a manner which rendered it precarious. Reviewing the projected scheme of home government for India, he insisted that it would be incompetent to grapple with the details of Indian administration, that the president must trust to the governor general, who, with a supremacy of power that would exalt him above all control, must become a despot. The expenditure would increase every year, and the question would be not of losing India, but of running England

The financial question, he repeated, must be met, and how, he asked, were we, who found so much difficulty in adjusting our expenditure to our means, to provide for an enormous deficiency in India? The affairs of India had hitherto not created much interest in the house and in the country, because Englishmen had never had to pay for India. That illusion would now be at an end—Lord Palmerston, in reply, observed that Mr Disraeli had endeavoured to frighten the house by a financial difficulty. Nothing, however, was more contrary to the fact. The bill would make no change in this respect, the distinction between the two exchequers would remain, but would be made more clear and precise. Upon the general question, he said he could understand that those who approved the existing system should desire its continuance, but he could not understand how those who pronounced it to be defective should, nevertheless, wish to prolong its existence at a period when vigor and unity of action were so much required.

The house then divided upon the amendment of Mr Baring, "That it is not at present expedient to legislate for the government of India," which being negatived by a division of 318 to 173, leave was given to bring in the bill, a result which was popularly considered as expressing the feelings of the country through parliament, which held itself answerable for the possessions and government of the Indian portion of the empire, as well as of the more integral division of it, and did not consider itself excused for misgovernment by the mere intervention of an inscrutable Court of Directors. As to the idea of danger from the change meditated, that danger had already presented itself when the revolution commenced. The bill in question, therefore, would rather register a great fact than effect a great transformation. Nothing in the way of destruction had been left to be accomplished, for when the great Bengal army mutinied, the East India Company, as a political institution, had died by its own hand.

The text of the "Bill for the better Government of India," introduced by Lord Palmerston, was as follows—

Whereas by an act of the sess on holden in the 16th and 17th years of her majesty chapter 93 to provide for the government of India "the territories in the possession and under the government of the East India Company were continued under such



government, in trust for her majesty, until parliament should otherwise provide, subject to the provisions of that act and of other acts of parliament, and the property and rights in the said act referred to are left by the said Company in trust for the crown for the purposes of the said government; and whereas it is expedient that the said territories should be governed by and in the name of her majesty, be it therefore enacted by the queen's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows: that it is

*Transfer of the Government of India to Her Majesty*—I. The government of the territories now in the possession or under the government of the East India Company, and all powers in relation to government vested in or exercised by the said Company in trust for her majesty, shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the said Company, and all territories in the possession or under the government of the said Company, and all rights vested in or which if this act had not been passed might have been exercised by the said Company in relation to any territories, shall become vested in and be exercised on behalf of her majesty; and for the purposes of this act India shall mean the territories vested in her majesty as aforesaid, and all territories which may become vested in her majesty by virtue of any such rights as aforesaid.

II. India shall be governed by and in the name of her majesty, and all rights in relation to any territories which might have been exercised by the said Company if this act had not been passed, shall and may be exercised on behalf of her majesty, as rights incidental to the government of India; and all the territorial and other revenues of or arising in India, and all tributes and other payments in respect of any territories which would have been receivable by or to the name of the said Company if this act had not been passed, shall be received for and in the name of her majesty, and shall be applied and disposed of for the purposes of the government of India, subject to the provisions of this act.

III. Real and personal property of the Company to vest in her majesty for the purposes of the government of India.

IV. The appointments of governor general of India, fourth ordinary member of the council of India, and governors of presidencies in India, now made by the Court of Directors with the approbation of her majesty, and the appointment of advocate-general for the several presidencies, now made with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, shall be made by her majesty by warrant under her royal sign manual, the appointments of the ordinary members of the council of India, except the fourth ordinary member, shall be made by the governor general of India subject to the approbation of her majesty, and the appointments of the members of council of the several presidencies shall be made by the governors of such respective presidencies, subject to the like approbation, and all such appointments shall be subject to the qualifications now by law affecting such offices respectively provided always that it shall not be lawful for the governor general of India, or the governor of any presidency, to appoint a person provisionally to supply any vacancy which may subsequently happen in the office of member of

council, unless the pleasure of her majesty be previously signified for that purpose; but any person appointed by such governor general or governor respectively, subject to her majesty's approbation, to fill an actual vacancy in such office, shall be entitled to sit and act as a member of the respective council, and shall have the emoluments and advantages of such appointment in the interim, until her majesty's pleasure may be signified in relation to such appointment.

*President and Council for Affairs of India*—V. For the purposes of the government of India under this act, a council shall be established, to consist of a president and eight other members, and to be styled, "The President and Council for the Affairs of India" and it shall be lawful for her majesty, from time to time, by warrant under her royal sign manual, to appoint a person to be, during her majesty's pleasure, president of the council for the affairs of India, and by like warrants to appoint eight other persons to be ordinary members of such council; and of the persons to be first appointed such ordinary members two shall be appointed for four years, two for six years, two for eight years, and two for ten years (such respective terms to be computed from the commencement of this act); and every person to be appointed an ordinary member of council shall be a person who has been a director of the said Company, or has been for ten years at least in India, in the service either of the crown or of the said Company, or has been for fifteen years at least resident in India.

VI. Every ordinary member of council appointed to fill a vacancy occasioned by the expiration of the term of office of an ordinary member shall be appointed for the term of eight years, to be computed from such expiration; and every such ordinary member appointed to supply the place of an ordinary member whose office has become void otherwise than by the expiration of his term of office, shall be appointed for the remainder of the term of office of such last mentioned ordinary member, and every person ceasing, or who, but for reappointment, would cease, to be an ordinary member of council by the expiration of his term of office, shall be capable of being forthwith reappointed.

VII. It shall be lawful for her majesty to remove any ordinary member of council from his office, upon an address of both houses of parliament.

VIII. The president for the time being shall be capable of being elected and of sitting and voting as a member of the House of Commons, and in case the person who immediately before the commencement of this act is the president of the commissioners for the affairs of India be appointed the first president of the council established under this act, and be at the time of such appointment a member of the House of Commons, he shall not by reason of such appointment vacate his seat in parliament.

IX. There shall be paid to the president the like yearly salary as that for the time being paid to one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, and to each ordinary member of council the yearly salary of £1,000.

X. Four members of council may form a board.  
XI. In case at any board at which the president is present there is a difference of opinion on any question, the determination of the president shall be final, and all acts done at any board in the absence of the president shall require the sanction or approval in writing of the president, or of one

of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, and in case of difference of opinion on any question decided at any board, the president may require that his opinions, and the reasons for the same, be entered in the minutes of the proceedings; and any ordinary member of council who may have been present at the board may require that his opinion, and any reasons for the same that he may have stated at the board, be entered in like manner.

XII Provided always, that no grant whatever by way of increase of the actual charge for the time being upon the revenues of India, no appointment by the president and council to any office or employment on the establishment of the president and council, and no appointment or admission to service to be made by the president and council, under the powers transferred to them by this act, shall be made without the concurrence of the president and four at least of the ordinary members of council; but this enactment shall not extend to appointments of persons becoming entitled thereto, as mentioned in section 41 of the said act of the 36th and 37th years of her majesty; but such appointments may be made at any board.

XIII During vacancy of office, &c., of president, his powers to be exercised by secretary of state

XIV Arrangement of the business of the council.

XV Establishment of president and council to be fixed by order of her majesty in council.

XVI One secretary may sit in the House of Commons

XVII Appointment of officers and their salaries, &c.

*Powers of President and Council.*—XVIII. President and council to exercise powers now exercised by the Company or Board of Control.

XIX. A specified number or proportion of the cadships to be given to sons of civil and military servants.

XX All appointments to offices, commands, and employments in India, which by law or under any regulations usage or custom are now made by any authority in India, shall continue to be made in India by the like authority

XXI Existing provisions to be applicable to president and council, &c.

XXII Orders and despatches which may now be sent through secret committee may be sent by or to the president alone

XXIII When any order is sent to India, directing the actual commencement of hostilities by her majesty's forces in India, the fact of such order having been sent shall be communicated to both houses of parliament within one month after the sending of such order, if parliament be sitting, and if parliament be not sitting then within one month after the next meeting of parliament.

XXIV All orders and communications of the president and council which shall be sent to India shall be signed by the president or one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state

XXV Powers of sale and purchase and contract given to president and council

XXVI Warrants &c., under royal sign manual, relating to India, to be countersigned by the president.

*Application of Revenues.*—XXVII. Dividend of the Company and existing and future debts and liabilities and expenses, charged on revenues of India

XXVIII Revenues remitted to Great Britain and monies arising in Great Britain, to be paid to president in council.

XXIX. Cash balance of the Company at the Bank transferred.

XXX. Stock account to be opened at the Bank.

XXXI. Stock standing in the name of the Company transferred.

XXXII. Power to grant letter of attorney for sale, &c., of stock and receipt of dividends, given to president and council

XXXIII. Eschequer bills and like securities transferred to president and council.

*Accounts.*—XXXIV. Audit of accounts in Great Britain

XXXV. President and council to make regulations for audit of accounts in India

XXXVI. Accounts to be annually laid before parliament.

*Existing Establishments and Regulations.*—

XXXVII. The military and naval forces of the East India Company shall be deemed to be the Indian military and naval forces of her majesty, and shall be under the same obligations to serve her majesty as they would have been under to serve the said Company, and shall be liable to serve within the same territorial limits only, for the same terms only, and be entitled to the like pay, pensions, allowances, privileges, and advantages as if they had continued in the service of the said Company; such forces, and all persons hereafter enlisting in or entering the same shall continue and be subject to all acts of parliament, laws of the governor general of India in council, and articles of war, and all other laws, regulations, and provisions relating to the East India Company's military and naval forces respectively, as if her majesty's Indian military and naval forces respectively had throughout such acts, laws, articles, regulations, and provisions been mentioned or referred to, instead of such forces of the said Company, and the pay and expenses of and incident to her majesty's Indian military and naval forces shall be defrayed out of the revenues of India.

XXXVIII. Forces paid out of revenues of India not to be employed out of Asia

XXXIX. Form of attestation, &c., on future enlistments, to be as directed by her majesty

XL. Servants of the Company to be deemed servants of her majesty

XLI. All orders and regulations of the Court of Directors or Board of Control to remain in force

XLII. All functions and powers of courts of proprietors and courts of directors of the said Company in relation to the government of India, and all appointments of such of the directors of the said Company as have been appointed by her majesty, shall cease, and the yearly sums payable to the chairman, deputy chairman, and other directors of the said Company, shall cease to be payable, and after the passing of this act, all powers vested in her majesty of appointing directors of the said Company shall cease and determine

XLIII. Board of Control abolished

XLIV. Existing officers on home establishment of the East India Company and of commissioners for the affairs of India transferred to the president and council

XLV. Records of the Company to be delivered to the president and council

*Actions and Contracts.*—XLVI. The president and council shall and may sue and be sued by the name of the president and council for the affairs of India, as if they were a body corporate

XLVII. President and council to come in the

place of the Company with regard to pending suits, &c.

**XLVIII** Contracts, &c., of the Company to be enforced by and against president and council.

**XLIX** No member of the said council shall be personally liable in respect of any such contract, covenant, or engagement of the said Company as aforesaid, or in respect of any contract entered into under the authority of this act, or other liability of the said president and council in their official capacity, but all such liabilities, and all costs and damages of the said president and council in respect thereof, shall be satisfied and paid out of the revenues of India.

*Saving of certain Rights of the Company*—**L**. It shall be lawful for the president and council to pay to the said Company, out of the revenues of India, such annual sum as her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign manual counter-signed by the chancellor of the exchequer, may direct, for defraying the expenses of and incident to the payment to the proprietors of the capital stock of the said Company of their respective shares of the dividend on such stock, and of keeping the books of the said Company for transfers and otherwise in relation to such stock.

**LI** Nothing herein contained shall affect the right of the said Company to demand the redemption of the dividend on their capital stock secured by the said act of the 3rd and 4th years of King William the Fourth, and all the provisions of it said act concerning the security fund thereby created shall remain in force, save that when the approbation of the commissioners for the affairs of India is required in relation to the disposal of the said security fund the approbation of the president and council for the affairs of India shall be required.

*Commencement of the Act*—**LII** Save as herein otherwise provided, this act shall commence and take effect on the expiration of thirty days after the passing thereof.

By the proposed bill the question of Indian reform became wonderfully simplified. The changes actually proposed were so few, so obviously called for, and so evidently calculated to expedite the transaction of affairs, and improve the administration of India, that it became a matter of difficulty to meet them with any valid objection. The only question, indeed, raised by the leader of the opposition in this matter (Mr Baring), being simply, and solely, "whether the present was the proper time for entertaining such a measure," and there was no ground whatever for deprecating the interference of parliament by any appeal on the score of the rights, privileges, or deserts of the East India Company, which stood acquitted, by the ministerial admissions, of any such special misrule or misconduct as might have directly provoked the intervention of the imperial legislature. The reforms proposed had long been contemplated as among inevitable events they had been deferred from various considerations, but the necessity had acquired such

urgency from the existing rebellion, that further procrastination by the government was impossible. The necessity for immediate action was established by the strongest arguments; one of which, based upon the cumbrous machinery of the double government, exhibited it as a positive clog upon business—a plain, tangible impediment in the way of dispatch; and such it had ever been found when a necessity for prompt and vigorous action arose. It is true Mr Baring challenged the government to state "whether they had been impeded in any of their measures by the Company," but that was not the species of impediment complained of. It was not asserted that the directors wilfully opposed the action of the ministry, but that the ministry found the co-ordinate functions of the Court of Directors a serious drawback on the efficiency of their own acts, and the struggle then shaking India to its centre, so completely exposed the defects of the co-administrative organisation, that sufferance was no longer endurable.

Besides this, the arguments to be drawn from the then actual position of India, and the probable sentiments of its population, told decidedly, as far as they had been ascertained, in favour of immediate legislation, not against it. It was urged by the opponents of the measure, that the Hindoo mind would be seriously disturbed by the announcement, ill-understood, of a proposed change in the government under which it had existed for a century, that the natives would associate this change of government with some projected and mysterious change of policy, and would anticipate therefrom some diminution of the toleration and indulgence with which their institutions had been theretofore regarded. But this was merely conjectural, and it was equally fair to anticipate impressions diametrically opposite, as being equally likely to be produced. But admitting that any political or administrative revolution might operate with uncertain effect on the Asiatic mind, it was still hardly possible that a better season for such changes could be selected than one at which the commotion was already so deep and universal as scarcely to admit of aggravation. As regarded the grand objection to the assumption of the direct government of India by the crown on the score of patronage, the bill altogether disposed of it. By its provisions the civil service was assigned to the

public at large, and the military service, besides being greatly circumscribed" in amount, instead of affording patronage to the crown, gave it to the new council, after reserving a portion of the appointments for the sons of public servants in India, whether military or civil. In India itself, it was proposed that the local appointments should continue to be made as they had been, with the exception that certain officers formerly nominated by the Court of Directors, were thenceforth to be nominated by the governor general. In fine, the effect of the proposed measure tended to establish the fact, that the government would gain no such addition of patronage as ought to excite jealousy, that the actual administration of Indian affairs would be scarcely interfered with, but that the authority of the crown, long since theoretically recognised as paramount, would in future be practically exercised without the impediments of a circuitous machinery, and with such a direct responsibility to parliament and the public, as was necessary for the permanent welfare of British India and its teeming millions.

The bill of Lord Palmerston had, as we have seen, reached its first stage, when, on Friday, the 19th of February, on an unfavorable division of the Commons, on the "Conspiracy to Murder Bill," led to a change to the cabinet, and, for a time, put a stop to further legislation on Indian affairs. The announcement of the resignation of her majesty's ministers was made by Viscount Palmerston, in his place in parliament, on Monday, the 22nd of February, and, the same evening, the Earl of Malmesbury, in the House of Peers, informed their lordships that the Earl of Derby, in obedience to the command of her majesty, was then occupied in forming an administration.

On the following Friday, the new ministry, under the leadership of the Earl of Derby and Mr Disraeli, took their places in parliament, and after some merely formal business had been alluded to, the houses adjourned until the 12th of March for the necessary re-election of those members who had accepted office under Lord Derby's administration. On that day, therefore, parliament again assembled, and, on the order of the day for the second reading of the Government of India Bill, Viscount Palmerston said he understood that the government intended to bring in a bill of their

own upon the subject. He, however, was unwilling to drop the measure he had introduced, until the house should be enabled to see the full of the new government, and therefore proposed that the second reading of his bill should be postponed until Thursday, the 22nd of April. The motion was agreed to without any discussion. On the 16th, Mr Disraeli, in explaining the general policy of the new government, said, with respect to Indian affairs—"We were opposed to the introduction of the bill of the noble lord (Palmerston), upon the ground that it was inopportune in the present state of India, and that it was unwise to weaken the influence of the government in a country where revolt was raging, but, after the vote of this house in favour of that interference, we consider it a duty to deal with the question, and, at present, it is the intention of the government to lay upon the table a bill for the government of India."—On the 11th of March, Mr Rich, member for Rich-moor (Yorkshire), called the attention of the house to the treatment of the mutinous sepoys, and other insurgents in India, and adverted to reports of cruelties and mutilations attributed to them, which he believed to be exaggerations or altogether without foundation, observing, that "we had only heard one side," and in referring to the probable causes of the mutiny, he censured strongly the conduct of the Indian government in the matter of the cartridges, asking why no inquiry had taken place in relation to the proceedings at Meerut, which had so much to do with the outbreak, and insisting that it was not a preconcerted revolt, but arose from a combination of circumstances, which, with due prudence, might have been averted. He commended the instructions of Lord Canning with reference to the treatment of the insurgents and deserters, and referred to published statements which showed, he thought, that some of our officers had not acted in accordance with the spirit of those instructions. He concluded with moving for copies of any report or despatch relative to the protection afforded by Maun Sing and others to fugitive Europeans at the outbreak of the sepoy mutiny, of any instructions given to officers in command of troops as to the treatment of mutinous sepoys or deserters, and, as to natives of Oude, not being sepoys, found in arms within the territory of Oude.—The motion was seconded by General Thompson.—Mr Baillie expressed his surprise that

upon such a motion, Mr. Rich should have entered upon a general discussion of the origin and causes of the Indian mutiny. With respect to the manner in which martial law had been carried out, the proper authority to execute that law, he observed, was the commander in chief in India. Sir C. Campbell was fully aware of the views of the governor general, and he (Mr. Baillie) thought that few of the excesses to which Mr. Rich had referred had taken place. He had no objection to the production of the papers asked for—Mr. W. Vansittart differed from Mr. Rich. All India, he said, was looking with anxiety to see whether the outrages committed by the sepoys would be avenged. Lord Canning, he thought, had carried his conciliatory policy too far—Mr. Buxton, on the contrary, thought that Lord Canning ought to be supported, not in sparing the guilty, but in keeping down the exasperation naturally felt by those on the spot. The dreadful stories of mutilations by the sepoys, had turned out, upon investigation, almost, if not entirely, without foundation. He read reports of excesses stated to have been committed by subordinate officers in India, showing, he said, a spirit not to be trusted, and he asked whether the house was prepared to lay down the principle that it was right to hang, in cold blood, men who fought to free their fatherland from the stranger, or for disaffection to our rule—Mr. Mangles thought that Mr. Rich had made more excuses for the sepoys than they were fairly entitled to. As to the cartridges, the fact was, he said, that the greased cartridges were not issued to any native regiment, as a regiment, in our provinces. The cartridges at Meerut were the same as had been used by the troops without remonstrance for years. He declared that the statements of excesses which had appeared in the newspapers were exaggerations, and some of them inventions, and that so long as Lord Canning remained at the head of the Indian government, the country might be assured that no system of indiscriminate punishment would be adopted. Distinction would be made between offences, and justice would be tempered with mercy—Captain Scott mentioned acts of atrocity perpetrated by the sepoys upon an English officer and his sister in Oude—Mr. Adams observed, that a scant measure of justice had been dealt out to British officers in India, who upon the authority of odd scraps cut out of news

papers, had been assumed to have committed acts utterly inconsistent with their character. He reminded the house of what the insurgents really were, and thought that too much of a maudlin sensibility was manifested on their behalf—Sir H. Rawlinson remarked, that the operations against the mutineers had now lasted ten months, and there was not a single prisoner in our hands, the inference was that no quarter was given. He looked, he said, from this discussion for such an expression of the opinion of that house as would react upon India, and teach the people that, in England, it was considered that the moment for the exercise of mercy had arrived.

The motion having afforded opportunity for some expression of opinion, was then withdrawn.

The same evening, in reply to a question by Mr. Harcourt, Mr. H. Baillie said, that the six months' *batta*, awarded by the governor general in council to the army which captured Delhi, was the largest sum that he was by law entitled to grant, but that the case of the army, and also of the garrison of Lucknow, were both under the consideration of government. With regard to this question of recompense to the captors of Delhi, it might be observed that, as the matter then stood, one of the most astonishing and important achievements on record—an achievement which saved the empire of India, and exalted the renown of England in all the countries of the world—characterised by patience, resolution, and intrepidity almost without parallel—had been acknowledged by a concession so paltry, that nothing but the usage of Indian campaigning could have rendered such an offer other than an insult to the army. Stripped of technical terms, the arrangement amounted to this—that every man who fought and conquered at Delhi, was to have a sum equal to thirty six shillings English money accorded to him in testimony and reward of his services! This was felt to be totally inadequate and unsatisfactory, and the question to be solved was—what course could be adopted for the satisfaction of the troops, under the peculiar circumstances of that remarkable victory. No possible doubt existed in any quarter as to the inadequacy of the reward awarded for the services rendered.

In defence of the arrangement as it stood, it was observed, that if Delhi had been an enemy's capital, and the heroic force

had represented a British army encamped on hostile territory, and waging regular war, the capture of the city would have entitled the victors to prize money from the spoils it might contain. But then Delhi was not, in the *strictly legal* sense of the term, an enemy's capital, nor were its contents an enemy's property. The riches and public stores of the place were, it was contended, all our own. Our own munitions of war filled the arsenal, our own rupees were accumulated in the treasury, and even the private property in the streets and houses was that of our own subjects. In the phraseology, therefore, of international jurists, there was no enemy in the case—no belligerent, at whose expense either plunder or prize money could be acquired. Certain battalions, in British pay, had revolted, and seized a town upon British territory: they were subdued, after a tremendous struggle, by other British troops, but both armies were composed of subjects of the same sovereign. The war might be called a civil war, or a servile war, but it was not a war of the kind to which the ordinary usages of warfare, as regards prize money, could be held to apply. Further, it was urged that the city being nominally our own, a right could not possibly be acquired by our own troops over the treasures it contained, any more than if at any other Indian town or station, a dozen lacs of rupees which had been seized by a mutinous garrison, were recovered by a company of European troops opportunely arriving, in which case it would not be argued that the soldiers were entitled to divide the silver on the spot! And so, in the present instance, it was held that no title to prize money existed, or could be created. Such was the substance of the case, as urged against the claims of the soldiers: but how disgraceful did it look when estimated by the known practical deserts of the conquerors! If the struggle was really so divested of all those attributes which confer glory and gain upon military success, if it was nothing more than a mere suppression of domestic disturbances, by which nothing could be won it might have been asked on what principle was it held to require any acknowledgment at all? Why were the thanks of parliament voted to the troops engaged? Why was the general in command raised, with the approval of all to a baronetcy, and not only to a baronetcy, but to one with a title taken from this very city? What could be the meaning of Sir

Archdale Wilson of Delhi, if that same Delhi was not a city conquered from the enemy? Again, upon looking at the whole course of public proceedings in the matter, it was unquestionable that the struggle symbolised and expressed by the one critical operation of the siege of Delhi, occupied in the minds of Englishmen such a place as had scarcely ever been taken by any incident even of European war. The anxieties of the nation were profoundly absorbed in the tremendous struggle between a handful of our countrymen and an army of mutineers, on which an empire depended. We put up prayers in our churches, we held a solemn fast, and we raised subscriptions without stint. As long as the issue was in suspense, public anxiety was unbounded, and when at length the victory fell, against the most terrific odds, to British valour, it seemed there would be no bounds to the gratitude of the nation. The instincts of the country, in this matter, outstripped the deliberations of the authorities, and deemed the rewards of the government parsimoniously bestowed, but if all this was reasonable, what became of the argument about war and no war? How could a war, manifestly regarded in such a light while raging, be described as no war when we came to consider the recompense of the conquering troops? What consistency was there in beginning to award honours and rewards, and then, in stopping half way down? Either there should have been no acknowledgments at all, or they ought to have included the private soldiers' share in the form of prize money and medals. No one would have hesitated over this alternative. All should have shared, or all should have been withheld.

But admitting that the government treasure found in the coffers at Delhi did not become the lawful spoil of that government's troops, yet how much ought to have been considered fairly due to those troops from their government, for the recapture of the city? Surely more than thirty six shillings per man! Besides, the very allowance, miserable as it was, destroyed the whole argument against a greater one. Either the troops were engaged upon an unrecognisable service (in which case the donation of eighteen rupees was improper), or their exploits admitted of recognition and estimate (in which case the offer was contemptible). The true question, after all was not merely what were the technical rights

of the captors of Delhi, in and over certain lacs of rupees, but what ought to be done for men who, at the cost of most heroic endurance and valour, had saved the British empire in Hindostan, by converting a contingency of disastrous ruin into a campaign of imperishable renown.

Neither the East India Company or the home government were insensible to the fact of the utter disproportion between the services rendered by the army and the recompense awarded, and, at a quarterly general court of the Company, held in Leadenhall street, on the 25th of March, the chairman of the Court of Directors stated, in reply to a question upon the subject, that an arrangement had been come to for settling the question in a manner which he believed would be satisfactory alike to the court, the country, and the army itself. There had not occurred the slightest difference of opinion between her majesty's government and the Court of Directors on the subject, nor had any reluctance been shown by either party to do ample justice to the army engaged in the capture of the city of Delhi. The governor general had granted six months' *batta* to the troops. That was considered by some to be a very niggardly grant, and opprobrium had been cast upon the governor-general for having made it. But that was unjust, for it was all he was competent to grant under the orders of the Court of Directors. It should be remembered that all prize money was in the gift of the crown. The East India Company had no power to grant a shilling. What, then, had been agreed upon was this—that all which could be justly considered prize, viz., all the property that had belonged to the mutineers and rebels, should be distributed among the captors, but that the property which had previously belonged to the government, and which had only been recovered, should not be so distributed. Everything taken from the mutineers would be prize. Besides that, the Court of Directors, with the sanction of the government, had granted another six months' *batta*, in compensation for that which could not be justly regarded as prize, such as the property of the government, and also of those loyal subjects who had behaved faithfully and well. It would be unjust to grant the property of the latter as prize, after having already suffered so much. There would also be a medal struck, and given to the men who served in the army at Delhi,

Lucknow, and Cawnpore—not three medals, but one medal for the three victories, and clasps would be granted for all services in the field. At the same court, the chairman also gave notice that it was the intention of the Court of Directors to propose a grant of £1,000 a-year to the eldest son of the late Sir Henry Lawrence, with remainder to the second son in succession.

At length, on Friday, the 26th of March, Mr Disraeli (chancellor of the exchequer), in his place in the House of Commons, moved for leave to bring in a bill to transfer the government of India from the East India Company to the queen. The right honourable gentleman began his address with a justification of the administration of which he was a member, for now introducing the measure, after having opposed such a proceeding when submitted to parliament by the preceding ministry, and said that the vote by which the House of Commons had declared, by an overwhelming majority, that in its opinion the government of India should be transferred to her majesty, appeared to the present ministry to be conclusive as to one point—namely, the termination of the authority of the East India Company—an institution which, though it had fallen, having for some time rested on a foundation that was sapped and hollow, had in its day done great service to the country. The task of devising a proper substitute was full of difficulties, and could only be accomplished with the assistance of parliament. He then proceeded to describe the form of the home government for India which was embodied in the bill. It was proposed, in the first place, that there should be a high officer of state—a minister of the crown, who should occupy the rank and fulfil the duties of a secretary of state, to be president of a council of India. That council would consist of eighteen persons, half to be nominated by warrant from the crown, under the royal sign manual, the other moiety to be elected. It was proposed that each of the nine nominated members should represent some great interest in India, so that, in fact, they would be representative men. They would be appointed in this manner: each of the presidencies would be represented by a member of its civil service who had served ten years, one in the Upper Provinces of India, or in the countries under the authority of the governor general of India, another in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, a

third for Madras, and a fourth for Bombay. The fifth member would have a peculiar qualification. It was thought that there should be in the council of India a member possessing personal experience of the character and feelings of native princes, as resident or political agent at a native court. The other four nominated members, it was proposed, should represent the military services—one, with a service in India of five years, for the queen's army, and each of the armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, to be represented by an officer who had served at least ten years. It was intended to introduce into the bill itself the names of the nominated members, so that, in the first instance, they would have not only royal, but parliamentary sanction. Another portion of the council of India was to be chosen by popular election. The qualification of four of the elected members would be this: they must be men who had served her majesty or the Indian government in any branch of the Indian service whatever for ten years, or who had resided in India for fifteen years. They would be chosen by a constituency constituted thus: every person who had borne the commission of her majesty or of the government of India for ten years, resident in this country, or who had been in the civil service either for the same period, or who was a resident proprietor of £2,000 capital stock of an Indian railway or of public works, or possessed of £1,000 of India stock, would have the power of voting for the election of these four members of the council. The number of the electors, it was estimated, would amount to 5,000 persons. As to the other five elected members, their qualifications would be this: they must have been engaged in the commerce of India, or in the export of manufactured articles thither for at least five years, or resident in India for at least ten years. Their election would be confined to the principal seats of trade and industry in this country, one would be elected by each of the following cities—London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Belfast. The constituency to return these members, the government was of opinion, should be the parliamentary constituencies of these places respectively. Mr Disraeli then read the names of the members of the council to be inserted in the bill, and proceeded to detail the forms of procedure and general duties which the council of India would have to fulfil. The

minister for India would have the power of dividing the council into committees, exercising over them a general supervision, and the power to call a meeting of the council. It would likewise be in the power of six councillors to call a council by application in writing to the secretary of state for India. The members of council would not have a seat in parliament, and their salary would be £1,000 a-year. With respect to the exercise and distribution of the patronage, the result would be that there would not be the least alteration. Virtually, the patronage exercised by the East India Company would be exercised in the same way by the council of India. As to the army of India, there would be no change except what resulted from the general scope of the bill, which would, however, contain a clause that would facilitate any future changes in this respect. With regard to the finances, the bill would fix upon the revenues of India alone the expense of the government of India, the accounts would be laid before parliament, and there would be a sufficient audit. But, having said this, he was bound to add, that the relations of this country with the Indian finances remained a source of anxiety, and he believed that the time would soon arrive when parliament must give its serious attention to this subject. Notwithstanding the ability of the administrators of India, the state of its finances had always been involved in obscurity and perplexity, and it would be the duty of ministers to recommend to her majesty (and a clause was inserted in the bill to that effect) to authorise a royal commission to visit India, to investigate the financial condition of every part of our establishments there, and to report generally on the whole subject. Without touching upon details, these, he said, were the principal features of the bill. The plan, he observed in conclusion, was the first ever introduced to parliament for establishing a council of India, which combined, with knowledge and public spirit, complete independence. The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving for leave to bring in the bill, which was granted, and the bill was read a first time, and ordered to be taken into consideration on Monday, the 12th of April.

In the course of the debate, or rather conversation, that ensued upon this motion, Viscount Palmerston gave his cordial assent to it, reserving the opinion which a consideration of the details of the bill might



lead him to entertain of its merits, and Mr. Mangles said, he was persuaded, that after temporary feelings and jealousies should have passed away, it would be universally acknowledged, that the East India Company had deserved well of their country, and that whenever their powers and functions might expire, they would leave to England a noble legacy. As the representative of that great corporation, and as believing that the government of India had been on the whole a good and beneficial one, it would be his duty to oppose the introduction of any bill intended to take from the Company a power which had been so well exercised. But he was bound to state, at the same time, that if it should be the will of parliament to deprive the Company of its functions, he and his colleagues would be prepared, in the fulfilment of their duty to the people both of England and of India, to give their most cordial assistance in rendering the new system of government as good and as efficient as possible.

Numerous enquiries and suggestions were advanced by various members during the evening, in reply to which, the chancellor of the exchequer said, "he had been asked what were to be the duties of the council, and he had to observe upon that point, that the duties of the council were to be the transaction of all business connected with the government of India, that could be transacted in England. They would have the entire transaction of that business, and from the details laid before him, he thought that it would require that which would be exacted from the members of council—the total devotion of their time. No gentleman would be a member of the council who was an active member of a profession, or engaged directly or indirectly in trade or commerce. Of course, with respect to those members who were elected, that rule could not apply, and it was desirable that the council should contain some persons who were familiarly acquainted with the commerce and trade of the country. With respect to the qualifications for members of the council in consequence of residence in India, that applied to all the dominions under the authority of the governor general, and therefore the Punjab and Scinde were included. He had been asked whether the council was to sit and transact business in Cannon row. The honourable member who made that inquiry was not so familiar as himself with the quantity of business that

must be transacted, and the space required for its transaction. He could assure the honourable gentleman, that the building in Cannon row would not be able to hold the council. Where, ultimately, the members of council might be collected together, it was not for him to say. No doubt, they would be able to place themselves in some convenient locality, but, for the present, the council must transact its business in Leadenhall street. Some honourable gentlemen seemed to think that, under the bill, the whole military patronage of India would be handed over to the Horse guards. Certainly, he must have conveyed his meaning in very ambiguous phraseology if he were misunderstood on that point, but he thought he had clearly stated that the patronage of the military establishment, added to the cadetships, was to be distributed among the council, and by them distributed among the people in the same way as was now done by the Board of Directors. An honourable member had suggested that the members of the council should be elected by ballot. When the people of this country should be unanimous for the adoption of the vote by ballot, the government would then give the honourable member's suggestion the gravest consideration."

Of the relative merits of the two bills thus before the country, there were of course opinions as various as the shades of political principle or party tactics could supply. From the multiplicity of such, the following comparative view, as taken by the *Daily News* of 31st March, appeared to be the most luminous, and impartial also. After premising that the task of legislating for India must be approached in dispassionate mood, and under the deep sense of moral responsibility which befitted so momentous an undertaking, the writer proceeded thus— "The bill presented to the House of Commons by Lord Palmerston, is the first that calls for notice. The radical vice of that measure is the immense amount of irresponsible power and patronage which it entrusts to the ministers of the crown for the time being and the inadequate security it affords for the appointment of capable men in India. The bill proposes that the home government of India shall be exclusively vested in a council composed of a president and eight members, nominated by the crown—the president to hold office during pleasure, the other councillors for a

certain term of years. This council and its president are to be a corporation for the management of Indian affairs. In them are to be combined all the power at present exercised by the directors of the East India Company and the Board of Control conjointly. Except with regard to such affairs as are not present conducted by the secret committee, all business is to be transacted in council. But when the president is present, he may disregard the opinion of the majority of the council, and follow his own if in opposition to it. And he may do the same with regard to any resolution adopted by a majority of the council in his absence, on the condition of his putting his own and their reasons upon record. In two cases only is it necessary that his determination should be sanctioned by the assent of four other members of council, when matters of finance, or when the exercise of patronage is in question. Thus, the whole administration and patronage of India—with some inconsiderable exceptions—is proposed to be vested in nine nominees of the crown, one holding office so long as it suits the arrangements of his political party, the rest for a term of years. Neither the public of India nor of England are to have any voice in the nomination of this council. It is, indeed, liable to be called to account for its actions in parliament, and with a view to this, it is proposed that the president and one secretary appointed by him may have seats in the House of Commons. But parliament has always had the power of examining into and controlling the government of India, and how many days of each session, on an average, have been given to the affairs of India since India was ours? It is an arrant farce to speak of the dread of parliamentary responsibility as likely in the slightest degree to influence the proceedings of the proposed council for India. The common sense of the nation has declared, that the only way to prevent the president and his council from becoming mere tools of the crown and its ministers, is to resort to the elective principle for the appointment of at least a moiety of the council. It is also felt, that for the purposes of intelligent and independent deliberation—as also for an adequate supply of working committees—eight councillors and a president are too few.

"These defects the government which has succeeded Lord Palmerston's, profess to have remedied in their amended bill

They certainly have recognised the principle of election by an independent constituency as regards a moiety of the council, and they have increased the number of councillors. So far, good, but they have at the same time engrafted other modifications on the original bill, which more than neutralise the benefits of these concessions. The council for India, according to Lord Palmerston's bill, however objectionable the mode of its appointment, would have been a reality. It would have had duties to perform, and power to perform them. But the council for India, according to the 'Government of India Bill, No 2,' is a mere exercise. Lord Palmerston proposed to vest the government of India in a president and council. The president could only act in council. Lord Ellenborough proposes to vest the government of India in a fifth secretary of state. The secretary of state can act without the council. The council, in fact, can only assemble when he summons it, or complies with its petition to allow it to meet, and, when met, it can only talk. The secretary of state does not need to be supported by a majority of its members even on questions of finance or patronage. Indeed, whereas the greater part of the patronage is, by Lord Palmerston's bill, vested in the president and council, the whole of the patronage is, by Lord Ellenborough's bill, vested in the crown—that is, in the secretary of state for India, and his colleagues of the cabinet. It is also worthy of remark, that while provision is made in Lord Palmerston's bill for the presence of an accredited mouthpiece of the council for India in the House of Commons—a member who can be interrogated as to its doings, and compelled to explain or defend them—nothing of the kind is to be found in Lord Ellenborough's. The latter bill declares, that of the five principal secretaries of state, only four can sit at one time in the House of Commons. The secretary for India may therefore be at any time excluded from that house, and no substitute is provided for him when that shall happen. It is a trifle and yet not unworthy of note, that while Lord Palmerston's bill declares that the president and council may sue and be sued, Lord Ellenborough's bill exempts the secretary of state from this conjoint liability with the council.

"The inference we would draw from this review of the two measures is, that it would be dangerous to allow Lord Palmerston's

bill to become law, because it vests the entire power and patronage of India in a small and manageable body of nominees of the crown, and that it would be equally dangerous to allow Lord Ellenborough's to become law, because it vests the whole power and patronage of India in a secretary of state, whose tenure of office depends upon that of his party—the council attached to him, although in part the offspring of popular election, being utterly powerless to do or prevent anything. Both of the cabinets who have tried their hands at the experiment of constructing a good government for India have lamentably failed. Were the issue in our power we should say to parliament, postpone legislation till a really unexceptionable measure shall be submitted to you. You already have a government in India which all parties concur in saying has worked not much amiss. Why change it before you have a tolerable certainty of obtaining something decidedly better in lieu of it? But we are told that parliament, having already declared that it will legislate for India this session, must keep its word. The declaration appears to us to belong to the rash and ill considered class which there is more honour in abandoning than in adhering to. But if parliament will fetter itself by a mistaken pride in unreasonable consistency, let it at least avoid adopting an objectionable bill for no other reason than that it is offered as a substitute for another equally objectionable. The great fault of Lord Palmerston's bill is that it places India at the mercy of a few irresponsible nominees. The great fault of Lord Ellenborough's bill is, that the council, though sufficiently numerous and not exclusively composed of nominees, is utterly powerless. If no party in the House of Commons is prepared to offer a third and better bill, let the house at least make an attempt to combine the better features of both the bills before it in one. Let the two bills be remitted to a select committee with instructions to retain that part of Lord Palmerston's bill which delegates the government of India to a president and a real council, to enlarge the council to the number proposed in Lord Ellenborough's bill, to adopt the elective principle embodied in Lord Ellenborough's bill, with an improved constituency, to retain the provisions in Lord Palmerston's bill for ensuring the presence of an official representative of the council of India in the House of Commons,

and to make whatever amendments, on this combination of the best parts of both measures, may appear to the said committee advisable."

A special general court of the Company was held on Wednesday, the 7th of April, at which the proposed grant of £1,000 per annum to the eldest son of the late Major general Sir Henry Lawrence, was adopted by the proprietors, and the chairman then announced to the meeting the two bills then before parliament for the future government of India, and also a lengthy and elaborate report upon their respective merits. The provisions of each bill were discussed *seriatim*, and the report concluded thus —

"From this review of the chief provisions of the bills, which embody the attempts of two great divisions of English statesmen to frame an organ of government for India, it will probably appear to the proprietors that neither of them is grounded on any sufficient consideration of past experience, or of the principles applicable to the subject, that the passing of either would be a calamity to India, and that the attempt to legislate while the minds of leading men are in so unprepared a state is altogether premature."

"The opinion of your directors is, that by all constitutional means the passing of either bill should be opposed, but that if one or the other should be determined on, for the purpose of transferring the administration, in name, from the East India Company to the crown, every exertion should be used in its passage through committees to divest it of the mischievous features by which both bills are now deformed, and to maintain, as at present, a really independent council, having the initiative of all business, discharging all the duties, and possessing all the essential powers of the Court of Directors. And it is the Court's conviction that measures might be so framed as to obviate whatever may be well founded in the complaints made against the present system retaining the initiative of the council, and that independence of action on their part which should be regarded as paramount and indispensable." The report having been adopted, Mr Arbuthnot proceeded to discuss the merits of the two bills. It was clearly the duty of the Court of Directors to use all the means in their power to prevent the passing of either of the bills, but, as that perhaps was not possible, the next best thing they could do was to assist the legislature in passing such a measure

as would best provide for the good of India. If either bill must be accepted in its present shape, he should prefer to accept that of the late government. It would be better to have one authority than the crude and ill considered plan proposed by the present government. He objected to the mode of appointing the council, and also to the subordinate position which that council was to hold. In every respect the measure was susceptible of great improvements. It appeared to him that the House of Commons had determined to abolish the East India Company. The Court ought to bow to that decision, and, as far as they could, to aid in obtaining the best possible measure for the future government of India.—The chairman said it was distinctly stated in the report which had been read, that if it should be the evident pleasure of parliament and of the country to proceed with the bill for transferring the government of India from the Company to the crown, the directors would feel it their duty to use their best energies to make the bill as perfect as possible.—Mr Sergeant Gaselee said he had no great predilection for Lord Palmerston, but of the two bills before parliament he thought Lord Palmerston's was the best. The bill of Lord Derby was one of a most cumbersome and complicated character. It preserved all the vices of the old Company without retaining any of its virtues. He objected to the appointment of a council. He thought it would be much better to throw the whole responsibility upon the ministers, who might be assisted by a competent number of clerks. Such was the system in the imperial government, and surely that which was good for England was good for India. The bill proposed by Lord Derby's government was most impracticable. It was said to be the concoction of a noble lord of great Indian experience, but he (Sergeant Gaselee) deprecated that Indian experience. It was always tainted by prejudices and jealousies arising from the different branches of the service in the several presidencies. The bill was so complicated, that he doubted whether even one cabinet, not to say one man, could have devised its machinery. Let them look to the good of India alone, irrespective of party. His suggestion was, that the collective wisdom of the Court of Directors assisted by Sir J. Melville and Mr Mill, should prepare a scheme worthy of the Company, and show to the country that

they could give up their government with dignity and honour.

The second reading of the Government of India Bill had been, as before stated, fixed for Monday, the 12th of April, but, upon that day, on the question for going into committee of supply being put, Lord John Russell took the opportunity to suggest first, on account of the great and decided objections urged against the provisions of that bill, it would save much valuable time, and facilitate the decision of the house, if government were to proceed to carry their views on the subject into effect by resolutions instead of by the more formal and dilatory process of submitting each clause of the bill to the consideration of the whole house. His lordship observed, that the course he proposed involved considerable discussion, but, when the resolutions were agreed to, very little debate need take place on the bill as a whole, and there would be great difficulty in discussing in a committee of the whole house, the many important questions which, from the wording of the clauses were mixed up with points of inferior and subordinate interest.—The chancellor of the exchequer fully appreciated the difficulty pointed out by the noble lord, and was quite willing if the house considered it expedient, to adopt the course suggested—to proceed by resolutions instead of by bill, and as the noble lord possessed in that house an authority which no one could more deservedly exercise it would be more agreeable to himself (Mr Disraeli) if the noble lord would propose the resolutions, although, if necessary, he (Mr Disraeli) would not shrink from the responsibility of doing so. Lord John Russell considered the question was one that ought not to be taken out of the hands of her majesty's government and declined the honour of proposing the resolutions. After a short discussion, the chancellor of the exchequer stated, that he would prepare and place the resolutions upon the table of the house as speedily as possible.

A special general court of the East India Company was held at their house in Leadenhall street, on the 13th of the month, when the following resolution, in reference to the two bills and to the report of the Court of Directors,\* was unanimously adopted—

That this Court concur in the opinion of the Court of Directors—that neither of the bills now

\* See preceding page

before parliament is calculated to secure good government to India; and they accordingly authorise and request the Court of Directors to take such measures as may appear to them advisable for resisting the passing of either bill through parliament, and for introducing into any bill for altering the constitution of the government of India, such conditions as may promise a system of administration calculated to promote the interests of the people of India, and to prove conducive to the general welfare."

On the 20th of April, a series of resolutions affirmatory of the policy proposed to be adopted in the future government of India, were laid upon the table of the House of Commons by the Right Hon Benjamin Disraeli, who then moved that they should be printed for the consideration of members, previous to a motion for their adoption as a basis for further legislation on Indian affairs. The resolutions were as follow —

"1 That as the territories under the government of the East India Company are by law to remain under such government only until parliament shall otherwise provide, this house is of opinion that it is expedient that the transfer of such government to the crown should now take place, in order that the direct superintendence of the whole empire may be placed under one executive authority

"2 That for this purpose it is expedient to provide that her majesty, by one of her principal secretaries of state, shall have and perform all the powers and duties relating to the government and revenues of India which are or may be now exercised and performed by the East India Company, or by the Court of Directors or Court of Proprietors of the said Company, either alone or with the approbation of the commissioners for the affairs of India

"3 That such secretary of state shall be responsible for the government of India and the transaction of business in the United Kingdom relating thereto, in the same manner and to the same extent as any of her majesty's principal secretaries of state are responsible in the several departments over which they preside

"4 That, in order to assist such secretary of state in the discharge of his duties, it is expedient that a council be appointed of not less than twelve nor more than eighteen members

"5 That, in order to secure the greatest amount of knowledge and experience in the management of the affairs of India, it is advisable that the principal portion of the members of the council shall have served in India for a term of years to be limited by statute

"6 That with a view to the efficiency and independence of the council, it is expedient that it should be partly nominated and partly elected

"7 That the members of the nominated portion of the council shall be selected by her majesty, subject, as a general rule, to the qualification above expressed, and one-half, at the least, of the elected members shall possess the like qualifications

"8 That the members of the elected portion of the council shall be chosen by a constituency composed of persons who have previously held military commissions or civil appointments in India, in her

majesty's service or in that of the government of India, or who may possess a direct interest, to an amount to be specified, in some property charged or secured on the revenues or territories of India

"9 That the council shall be presided over by the secretary of state, or by some member of the council to be nominated by him as vice-president.

"10 That arrangements shall be made from time to time, by the secretary of state and the council, for the meetings of the council, for the mode of procedure at such meetings, and for the distribution and transaction of business.

"11 That all despatches, letters, orders, and communications shall be addressed to the secretary of state, and shall be open to the inspection of every member of the council, except such as are now by law addressed to the secret committee of the Court of Directors.

"12 That the recommendation of persons for first appointments shall be made to her majesty by the secretary of state, with the concurrence of the council; and the same rules shall be observed in the making of such recommendations as have been followed by the Court of Directors in the making of such appointments

"13 That, for the purpose of ascertaining the fitness of persons for the several appointments for which they may be recommended, the same rules for the examination of candidates and of clerks shall be adhered to which are now followed by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, until the same be altered by the secretary of state and council of India.

"14 That provision shall be made for transferring to the crown all the real and personal property of the Company, except their capital stock, and the dividend thereon so as to vest the same in her majesty, for the purposes of the government of India, for continuing the charge on the revenues of India alone of the dividend on the capital stock of the said Company until the redemption thereof, and of all the territorial and other debts and engagements which are payable by the Company out of the revenues of India, for auditing the accounts of the home government of India, under the direction of her majesty's treasury, for laying such accounts annually before parliament, and for securing the preference given by the 3rd and 4th William IV to the dividends on the capital stock of the said Company, and the right of the said Company to demand the redemption of such dividends, and their right on the security fund, undiminished and unaffected by the transfer to the crown of the direct government of her majesty's Indian possessions"

Tracing the progress of the Indian government question towards a settlement, we find, on the 26th of the month, a petition was presented by the Earl of Albemarle, in the upper house of parliament, from the municipality and inhabitants of Birmingham, praying for the immediate establishment of an equitable system of government for India, upon which occasion his lordship expressed his entire disapproval of the ministerial plan, and said, from all he had read, and all he had heard, he felt quite confident that her majesty's ministers were

not competent to frame a scheme for the government of India which would be satisfactory to that country, would be compatible with the principles of the constitution, and would tend to promote what ought to be the whole and sole object of every government—namely, the prosperity and welfare of the governed. In the course of the same evening, the chancellor of the exchequer moved that, on the following Friday, the house should resolve itself into a committee to consider the act of the Queen, which provided for the government of India, when he would formally propose the resolutions he had already laid upon the table of the house. The right honourable gentleman discussed at some length the relative merits of the two bills then before the house, and naturally gave the palm to the one introduced by the administration of which he was himself a member, and, deprecating the hostile opinions that had been expressed with reference to it, he urged upon the house that, unless an efficient council were appointed as provided for in his bill, equal in knowledge and experience to the Court of Directors, it would be better not to disturb the existing machinery. After some severe remarks by Lord Palmerston, Mr Gladstone said he did not think that, after the decision of the house in February in favour of terminating the existing form of government for India the best mode of proceeding was by resolutions, which had the effect of making a new commencement of the work. No progress had been made in the settling of this question since it was first introduced, and Lord Palmerston seemed to imply that the present session would not see its settlement. Looking at the state of public affairs and of public opinion upon this subject, he respectfully protested against affirming the motion before the house. He had heard from Mr Disraeli an ingenious and elaborate defence of his bill, but whatever scruples he felt towards the measure had not been removed by it. In neither plan, however, could he see any elements of a good scheme, and there was great difficulty in attempting to govern by one people another people separated not only by distance, but by blood and by institutions. The Court of Directors had been practically a body protective of the people of India, and there ought not to be a less efficient provision for that object. He looked in vain, however, he said, in either plan for any protective power that

could be compared with the Court of Directors. There should be a protection afforded to the people of India against the ignorance, error, or indiscretion of the people and parliament of England—Mr. Gregory (Galway) said he considered the house had not sufficient information to legislate upon the subject, and moved as an amendment—"That at this moment it is not expedient to pass any resolutions for the future government of India." The amendment was seconded, and gave occasion for a lengthened discussion, but was eventually withdrawn.

The public mind now began to show symptoms of weariness with this protracted question, and it was by many considered peculiarly disgraceful both to parliament and the country, that the House of Commons should have spent half a session in working its way to a scheme of Indian government, and then break down with a confession of its own utter incompetence to handle the subject. It was urged, that if the change originally proposed was either unimportant or complex, if it related only to the construction of a department, or to the forms of office, then it would not greatly signify whether a bill which few understood or cared for was pressed or postponed. But the change originally proposed, and then accepted by all parties in the house, was at the same time supremely important and perfectly intelligible, being simply the transfer of the government of India from the East India Company to the crown, and the adoption of measures necessary to carry out that change, and it was considered, that were the house then, after returning again and again to the work, and after finally resolving on a course especially designed to secure unanimity, suddenly to bethink itself that it would be better to do nothing—not only would it weaken the hands of the authorities in India, and the energies of the army in that quarter, but the people of India and of the whole civilized world would conclude that we had at last discovered either our political depravity or our national decrepitude. Such, it was contended, would have been the effect of the course advocated by the member for Oxford university. He protested against the resolutions and against both of the bills, upon the extraordinary ground that they provided no protection for the people of India against the ignorance, indiscretion, and errors of the

executive, the parliament, and the people of this country. In what position, then, it was asked, would these stand before the world were his views adopted?

On Friday, the 30th of April, in the House of Commons, on the order of the day being read for going into committee upon the resolutions on the government of India, an attempt was made to settle the whole subject by Lord H. Vane (South Durham), who moved a resolution, "That the change of circumstances since the first proposal by her majesty's late advisers, to transfer the government of India to the crown, renders it inexpedient to proceed further with legislation on the subject during the present session." The motion was consistently seconded by Mr Gregory (Galway), but was strenuously opposed by Lord Palmerston, Mr Mills, Sir T. Baring, Lord Stanley, and other influential members of every shade of political opinion, and, upon a division, the motion of Lord H. Vane was negatived by 447 to 57; and the house went into committee upon the resolutions. The chancellor of the exchequer thereupon moved—"That it is expedient to transfer the government of India to the crown." A discussion ensued upon the question of expediency, in the course of which, the chairman of the Board of Directors of the East India Company entered at much length upon a defence of the Company's administration, and vindicated their rule from imputations that had been cast upon it. Ultimately, the first resolution was agreed to amid much cheering, and the consideration of the others was postponed.

By the adoption of this resolution, the house was distinctly pledged to legislate for the future government of India, and it addressed itself to the task with apparent earnestness. But before the second resolution had been formally propounded, an incident in the upper house of parliament, on the 7th of May, led to disclosures and explanations that had the effect of depriving Lord Derby of the advantage of the Earl of Ellenborough's services as a member of his cabinet, and, at the same time, excited a considerable degree of public indignation at his conduct. The circumstances were as follow—

On Thursday, the 6th of May, Earl Granville, in his place in parliament, said that it had come to his knowledge that the right honourable gentleman—the leader of the government in the other house—had

there stated that Lord Canning's proclamation from Allahabad, of the 14th of March, addressed to the people of Oude upon the reduction of Lucknow, was disapproved of *in toto* by her majesty's government; and he wished to know if that statement had the sanction of the colleagues of the right honourable gentleman—The Earl of Ellenborough (president of the council of India), in reply, stated that there had been no communication whatever between himself and the members of the other house as to the terms of the answer which had been given. The right honourable gentleman who had given the answers to which Earl Granville referred, had read the letter which had been written in regard to that proclamation, and was competent to speak upon the matter. The proclamation and the letter of the government should be laid on the table on the following day.

Accordingly, on Friday, the 8th of May, the Earl of Ellenborough stated to their lordships, that he proposed to place before them the proclamation of the governor-general to the people of Oude,\* a letter from the secretary to the government of India to the chief commissioner of Oude, by which that proclamation was accompanied,† and extracts of a letter from the secret committee of the East India Company to the governor-general in council. On looking carefully through the latter document, he found there were a few paragraphs which it would be inconvenient to make public. Those paragraphs would not appear, but their lordships might rest assured that the substance of the despatch would be placed in their hands. Lord Ellenborough then moved for the production of the papers mentioned.

Earl Granville had asked for these papers because he thought it was important that some explanation should be given by the government with regard to the course they had thought it right to take upon the information of Lord Canning's despatch reaching them. He had heard, since the intention to produce the despatch had been arrived at, that it had been in the hands of independent members of parliament, and that a copy of it had been shown at the Reform Club. Therefore, as the noble lord only thought it right now to give portions of that despatch, he regretted that the government had not kept the other portions of it within their own

\* See ante, p. 276

† Ibid., p. 277

He (Lord Granville), in common with their lordships, of course only knew so much of the circumstances of this proclamation as had appeared in the public prints, and looking at that proclamation as it there appeared, he certainly must say, that it seemed to him consistent with the principles which Lord Canning had theretofore carried out. He must add, that the proclamation appeared to him to place a strong weapon in the hands of the government, by means of which they might use their influence upon those of the inhabitants of Oude who might be disposed to stand out, but who yet, upon a force of this kind being brought into operation against them, would rather trust to the clemency of the government than run the risk of the confiscation of their estates. But what he wished most particularly was this—to be understood as not in any way venturing to express any approval or disapproval of the proclamation—in fact, he could not properly do so, for he was perfectly unacquainted with the circumstances of the case, except as they appeared in unauthorised sources of information. The public prints state that the proclamation was accompanied by instructions from Lord Canning as to the mode of putting it into force. He presumed that those instructions would be placed before them, and he considered the course adopted by the government altogether unprecedented. They had not merely passed censure on the conduct of Lord Canning hastily, and, as he thought, without full information even before they had received an official copy of the document, but had promulgated in England (whence it would at once be forwarded to India) their own secret despatch, with which even the directors of the Company had only been made acquainted that morning. The consequences he apprehended, would be the resignation of the governor-general—an event, in his opinion, fraught with serious injury in India, as depriving that country of the services of a statesman who had, under most peculiar circumstances, displayed consummate skill, and acquired among the nations an exalted reputation for justice and firmness.—The Earl of Derby explained the principles on which the government had acted. They believed that the proclamation, which threatened an almost general confiscation of the land in Oude, would drive the great landowners to despair, and tend to exas-

perate and prolong the contest in that province. The inhabitants of Oude ought not to be treated like mutinous sepoys. In writing to Lord Canning, however, they had studiously avoided using any expression calculated to necessitate his resignation. They had not even required him to recall his proclamation, simply intimating their wish that, in acting upon it, he should to a wide extent mitigate its severity.—The Duke of Argyll believed the government had fully admitted the principle that the government of India should be in India, yet it had taken the first opportunity to throw over the governor-general, and that in the most offensive manner.—The Earl of Lenborough remarked, as to the despatch being in the hands of certain members of parliament, that it had been given to Earl Granville, at his own request, as an act of courtesy. In the course the government had taken, it had been influenced more by regard to the welfare of India than consideration for Lord Canning. No government deserved to stand a day that did not mark with disapprobation the general confiscation of land threatened by the proclamation. He did not desire the return of Lord Canning neither did he fear it, the government would not have done its duty had it acted otherwise.—Earl Grey strongly condemned the course taken by the government, and, rejecting the idea that it was the attempt of a weak ministry to obtain a little cheap popularity by a few well turned phrases in favour of justice and moderation, could only ascribe it to some extraordinary inadvertence it was impossible to explain.—The motion was then affirmed, and the papers in question were eventually laid upon the table.

The proclamation of the governor-general, with the letter accompanying it to the commissioner of Oude, are inserted in accordance with their respective dates\*. The secret condemnatory despatch of Lord Lenborough, *in extenso*, was as follows:—

*The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-general of India in Council*

April 19th 1858

Our letter of the 24th of March 1858 will have put you in possession of our general views with respect to the treatment of the people in the event of the evacuation of Lucknow by the enemy.

2 On the 12th instant we received from you a copy of the letter dated the 3rd of March addressed by your secretary to the secretary to the chief

\* See pp 267 and 277 ante



commissioner in Oude, which letter enclosed a copy of the proclamation to be issued by the chief commissioner, as soon as the British troops should have command of the city of Lucknow, and conveyed instructions as to the manner in which he was to act with respect to different classes of persons, in execution of the views of the governor general.

"3 The people of Oude will see only the proclamation

"4 That authoritative expression of the will of the government informs the people that six persons, who are named as having been steadfast in their allegiance, are benevolent the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands they held when Oude came under British rule, subject only to such moderate assessment as may be imposed upon them, that others in whose favour like claims may be established will have conferred upon them a proportionate measure of reward and honour; and that with these exceptions the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated to the British government.

"5 We cannot but express to you our apprehensions on that this decree, pronouncing the disinherison of a people, will throw difficulties almost insurmountable in the way of the re-establishment of peace.

"6 We are under the impression that the war in Oude has derived much of its popular character from the rigorous manner in which, without regard to what the chief landholders had become accustomed to consider as their rights, the summary settlement had in a large portion of the province, been carried out by your officers.

"7 The landholders of India are as much attached to the soil occupied by their ancestors, and are as sensitive with respect to the rights in the soil they deem themselves to possess as the occupiers of land in any country of which we have a knowledge.

"8 Whatever may be your ultimate and undisclosed intentions, your proclamation will appear to deprive the great body of the people of all hope upon the subject most dear to them as individuals, while the substitution of our rule for that of their native sovereign, has naturally excited against us whatever they may have of national feeling.

"9 We cannot but in justice consider that those who resist our authority in Oude, are under very different circumstances from those who have acted against us in provinces which have been long under our government.

"10 We dethroned the king of Oude, and took possession of his kingdom, by virtue of a treaty which had been subsequently modified by another treaty under which had it been held to be in force, the course we adopted could not have been lawfully pursued, but we held that it was not in force although the fact of its not having been ratified in England, as regarded the provision on which we rely for our justification, had not been previously made known to the king of Oude.

"11 That sovereign and his ancestors, had been uniformly faithful to their treaty engagements with us, however ill they may have governed their subjects.

"12 They had more than once assisted us in our difficulties and not a suspicion had ever been entertained of any hostile disposition on their part towards our government.

"13 Suddenly the people saw their king taken from amongst them and our administration substituted for his, which, however bad, was at least native and this sudden change of government was

immediately followed by a summary settlement of the revenue, which in a very considerable portion of the province, deprived the most influential landholders of what they deemed to be their property; of what certainly had long been wealth, and distinction, and power to their families.

"14 We must admit that, under these circumstances, the hostilities which have been carried on in Oude have rather the character of legitimate war than that of rebellion, and that the people of Oude should rather be regarded with indulgent consideration than made the objects of a penalty exceeding in extent and in severity almost any which has been recorded in history as inflicted upon a subdued nation.

"15 Other conquerors, when they have succeeded in overcoming resistance, have excepted a few persons as still deserving of punishment, but have, with a generous policy, extended their clemency to the great body of the people.

"16 You have acted upon a different principle. You have reserved a few as deserving of special favour, and you have struck with what they will feel as the severest of punishment the mass of the inhabitants of the country.

"17 We cannot but think that the precedents from which you have departed will appear to have been conceived in a spirit of wisdom superior to that which appears in the precedent you have made.

"18 We desire that you will mitigate in practice the stringent severity of the decrees of confiscation you have issued against the landholders of Oude.

"19 We desire to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people, there cannot be contentment where there is a general confiscation.

"20 Government cannot long be maintained by any force in a country where the whole people is rendered hostile by a sense of wrong; and if it were possible so to maintain it, it would not be a consummation to be desired."

In the copy of the despatch laid before the House of Lords, the paragraphs in italics (9 to 13, inclusive) were omitted, but it happened that, in the copy presented to the House of Commons by the Secretary to the Board of Control, the despatch had been given unaltered, and hence the double dilemma in which ministers were placed by the inadvertency of two of their colleagues. In addition to the papers laid on the table by Lord Ellenborough, the following copy of a letter from the secret committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to the governor-general of India in council, relative to the policy to be pursued towards the natives of provinces lately in a state of hostility, was also produced —

The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-general of India in Council.

March 21st 1858

"The telegram from Calcutta, dated the 22nd ult., which arrived this morning conveys intelligence

of the concentration of the force under the commander-in-chief, and of that under Jung Bahadur, upon Lucknow, and we trust we may indulge the expectation that, ere this, that city has been evacuated by the rebels, and that no considerable corps remains united against us in the field.

"2 If this happy result should have been attained, it will be very satisfactory to us to learn that you have deemed yourself sufficiently strong to be enabled to act towards the people with the generosity as well as the justice which are congenial to the British character.

"3 Crimes have been committed against us which it would be a crime to forgive, and some large exceptions there must be, of the persons guilty of such crimes, from any act of amnesty which could be granted, but it must be as impossible as it would be abhorrent from our feelings to inflict the extreme penalty which the law might strictly award upon all who have swerved from their allegiance.

"4 To us it appears that, whenever open resistance shall have ceased, it would be prudent, in awarding punishment, rather to follow the practice which prevails after the conquest of a country which has defended itself to the last by desperate war than that which may perhaps be lawfully adopted after the suppression of mutiny and rebellion—such acts always being exempted from forgiveness or mitigation of punishment as have exceeded the license of legitimate hostility.

"5 While we may be unable to forget the injury which, during the last ten months, has pervaded the army and a large portion of the people we should at the same time remember the previous fidelity of a hundred years and so conduct ourselves towards those who have erred as to remove their delusions and the fear and re-establish, if we can, that confidence which was so long the foundation of our power.

"6 It would be desirable that in every case the disarming of a district, either by the seizure of arms or by their surrender, should precede the application to it of any amnesty, but there may be circumstances which would render expedient a different course of proceeding. Upon these exceptional cases you and the officers acting under your orders must decide.

"7 The disarming of a district having been effected with exceptions under your license in favour of native gentlemen whose feelings of honour would be affected by being deprived of the privilege of wearing arms and of any other persons in whom you may confide, we think the possession of arms should be punished in every case by a severe penalty; but unless the possession of arms should be combined with other acts leading to the conclusion that they were retained for the perpetration of crimes that penalty should not be death. Of course the possession of arms by Englishmen must always remain lawful.

"8 Death has of late been too common a punishment. It loses whatever terror it might otherwise have when so indiscriminately applied but, in fact, in India there is not uncommonly a fear of death, although there ever must be a fear of pain.

"9 In every amnestied district the ordinary administration of the law should, as soon as possible be restored.

"10 In carrying these views into execution you may meet with objections from those who, misled

by the scenes they have witnessed, may desire to substitute their own policy for that of the government; but persevere firmly in doing what you may think right; make those who would counteract you feel that you are resolved to rule, and that you will be served by none who will not obey.

"11 Acting in this spirit, you may rely upon our unqualified support."

This letter, it will be observed, refers to events in March, already recorded in previous chapters of this work,\* but, for obvious reasons, its existence was unknown to the public, until produced in obedience to a resolution of the House of Lords in May, 1858.

On Monday, the 10th of May, the Order proclamation and the secret despatch (Lord Ellenborough's, of the 19th of April, 1858) again came under discussion in the House of Lords, and the Earl of Shaftesbury gave notice that, on the following Friday, he would move a resolution condemnatory of the publication of the secret despatch of the government to Viscount Canning. The indignation excited by the unworthy attempt to insult the governor-general and paralyse his efforts, was not confined to the House of Lords only. The measure was felt by the country as unwise and uncalled for, and prompted rather by personal motives than by a consideration for the interests of India. The expression of public dissatisfaction was general, and notice of a vote of censure upon the government, on account of the secret despatch, was given in the Commons on the 10th of May, by Mr. Cardwell, the member for the city of Oxford.

A further complication of the difficulty in which government had become entangled in this matter, was occasioned by a statement of Lord Granville, that the late president of the Board of Control (Mr. Vernon Smith) had, some time previous, received a private letter from the governor-general, in which his lordship stated, that he considered his proclamation to the people of Oude required an explanatory despatch, but that, owing to the great pressure of business, he had not been able then to send it. It is communication, from inadvertence or design, had been withheld by the late president from his successor at the Board of Control, and Lord Ellenborough and the present government felt they had just grounds of complaint at the unusual reserve, by which, it was contended, the noble

\* See ante, pp. 270; 276; 278

earl had been placed in a false position with respect to the governor-general's proclamation; and the occasion was seized to divert at least a portion of the popular censure from the existing government.

On Tuesday, the 11th of May, the Oude proclamation, the secret despatch condemning it, and the private letter from Lord Canning to Mr. Vernon Smith, again became the subjects of a discussion in the House of Lords, which derived additional interest from an announcement made by the Earl of Ellenborough, that he had tendered the resignation of his office, as president of the India Board, to her majesty, and that it had been accepted. His lordship was succeeded in office by Lord Stanley.

The vote of censure, of which notice had been given by Lord Shaftesbury, was embodied in the following resolutions, which were moved by the noble earl on the 14th of May —

"1 That it appears from papers laid upon the table of this house, that a despatch has been addressed by the secret committee of the Court of Directors to the governor-general of India, disapproving a proclamation which the governor-general had informed the Court he intended to issue after the fall of Lucknow

"2 That it is known only from intelligence that has reached this country by correspondence published in newspapers, that the intended proclamation has been issued, and with an important modification, no official account of this proceeding having yet been received, that this house is therefore still without full information as to the grounds on which Lord Canning has acted, and his answer to the objections made to his intended proclamation in the despatch of the secret committee cannot be received for several weeks

"3 That under these circumstances this house is unable to form a judgment on the proclamation issued by Lord Canning but thinks it right to express its disapprobation of the premature publication by her majesty's ministers of the despatch addressed to the governor-general, since this public condemnation of his conduct is calculated to weaken the authority of the governor-general of India, and to encourage those who are now in arms against this country"

In the discussion that ensued, Lord Ellenborough vindicated the course he had taken and the language adopted, for which he claimed the entire responsibility, and deprecated further reference to the subject in the existing state of Indian affairs. Several peers spoke for and against the resolutions, which ultimately were rejected by a majority of nine.

On Friday, the 11th Mr. Cardwell, pur-  
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suant to notice, moved his condemnatory resolution as follows —

"That this house, whilst in its present state of information it abstains from expressing an opinion on the policy of any proclamation which may have been issued by the governor-general of India, in relation to Oude, has seen with regret and serious apprehension that her majesty's government have addressed to the governor-general, through the secret committee of the Court of Directors, and have published a despatch condemning in strong terms the conduct of the governor-general, and is of opinion that such a course on the part of the government must tend, in the present circumstances of India, to produce the most prejudicial effect, by weakening the authority of the governor-general, and encouraging the further resistance of those who are in arms against us"

A very animated debate followed, an amendment being moved by Mr. Dalrymple (Swansea)

"That the house generally approves of Lord Canning's policy up to the time of the Oude proclamation, and is satisfied with the firmness and judgment he has evinced during the crisis in India, but declines to give any opinion upon the proclamation itself until it has had further information on the state of Oude when it was issued, and also Lord Canning's reasons for issuing it"

The discussions of the resolutions and amendment was continued during the sittings of the 14th, 15th, 17th, 20th, and 21st, and then, by the consent of all parties, both were withdrawn without any result whatever, other than that the consideration of the resolutions which were to form the basis of future legislation for the government of India, was thereby unnecessarily and mischievously retarded.

On the 28th of May, the following letter of instructions from the Court of Directors to the governor-general in council, was presented to parliament, and ordered to be printed. It apparently referred to the proclamation and correspondence respecting Oude,\* and to the letter of the secret committee of the Court of Directors, dated the 24th of March †

"May 6th, 1858

"1 You will have received by the mail of the 25th of March, a letter from the secret committee, which has since been laid before us, respecting the policy which it becomes you to pursue towards those natives of India who have recently been in arms against the authority of the British government.

"2 That letter emphatically confirms the principles which you have already adopted, as set forth in your circular of the 31st of July, 1857, by imposing upon you the propriety of pursuing after the conquest of the rebelled provinces, a course of

\* See ante, pp. 276 and 278

† Ibid., p. 450

according to the financial results of the first few years. At such a time, we should endeavour to conciliate the people by wise concessions, and to do nothing to encourage the belief that the British government is more covetous of revenue than the native ruler whom it has supplanted."

In the House of Lords, on Tuesday, the 1st of June, Earl Granville observed, that it had been stated by a member of her majesty's government, that a telegraphic message had been sent to Lord Canning subsequent to the resignation of Lord Ellenborough, conveying an assurance that the former nobleman, in his important position of governor general of India, should receive the support of her majesty's government, and he (Lord Granville) wished to know if there would be any objection to the production of that communication. He also desired to know whether the government had any objection to the production of the vote of confidence of the directors of the East India Company, transmitted to Lord Canning, and of the despatch covering that vote? With regard to the first question, the Earl of Derby said, the only communication that had taken place was contained in a telegraphic message sent by him to Lord Canning, with a view to its overtaking the mail which had gone out on the 10th of May. It was a personal communication, because he had no right to enter into any official communication with Lord Canning. In that communication, he informed him of the change that had taken place in the government by the resignation of Lord Ellenborough, the regret of the government that the secret despatch which his noble friend had addressed to him had been made public, and expressed the determination of the government to give him the most cordial support in their power. It also expressed the hope of the government, that while they approved the policy laid down in the secret despatch of the 19th of April, Lord Canning would not in practice find it greatly to differ from the policy recommended by his (Lord Derby's) noble friend in the former despatch. It would not be possible to produce the private communication alluded to, but with regard to the despatch, and the vote of confidence passed by the Court of Directors, there would not be the least objection to lay those on the table immediately.

The following are the documents referred to by Lord Granville upon this occasion —

"Political Department, May 18th (No 2)

"Our Governor general of India in Council

"1 The secret committee has communicated to us the governor general's secret letter, dated the 5th of March 1858 with its enclosures consisting of a letter addressed to the chief commissioner of Oude dated the 3rd of March and of the proclamation referred to therein, which was to be issued by Sir James Outram to the chiefs and inhabitants of Oude as soon as the British troops should have possession or command of the city of Lucknow

"2 We have also received communication of the letter addressed to your government by the secret committee, under date the 19th of April last, on the subject of the draught of the proclamation

"3 Our political letter of the 5th of May has apprised you of our strong sense of the distinction which ought to be maintained between the revolted sepoys and the chiefs and people of Oude, and the comparative indulgence with which, equally from justice and policy, the insurgents of that country (other than sepoys) ought to be regarded. In accordance with these views we entirely approve the guarantee of life and honour given by the proposed proclamation to all talookdars chiefs and land holders with their followers who should make immediate submission, surrender their arms, and obey the orders of the British government, provided they have not participated in the murder of Englishmen or Englishwomen

"4 We are prepared to learn that in publicly declaring that, with the exception of the lands of six persons who had been steadfast in their allegiance the proprietary right in the soil of the province was confiscated to the British government, the governor general intended no more than to reserve to himself entire liberty of action, and to give the character of mercy to the confirmation of all rights not prejudicial to the public welfare, the owners of which might not by their conduct have excluded themselves from indulgent consideration

"5 His lordship must have been well aware that the words of the proclamation, without the comment on it which we trust was speedily afforded by your actions must have produced the expectation of much more general and indiscriminate dispossession than could have been consistent with justice or with policy. We shall doubtless be informed, in due course of the reasons which induced the governor general to employ these terms, and of the means which, we presume, have been taken of making known in Oude the merciful character which, we assume must still belong to your views. In the meantime it is due to the governor general that we should express our entire reliance that, on this as on former occasions, it has been his firm resolution to show to all whose crimes are not too great for any indulgence, the utmost degree of leniency consistent with the early restoration and firm maintenance of lawful authority

We accordingly have to inform you that, on receiving communication of the papers now acknowledged the Court of Directors passed the following resolution:—

"Resolved.—That in reference to the despatch from the secret committee to the governor general of India, dated the 18th ult., with the documents therein alluded to and the day laid before the Court of Directors, this Court desires to express its continued confidence in the governor general (Lord Canning), and its conviction that his measures for

the pacification of Oude and the other disturbed districts in India, will be characterised by a generous policy, and by the utmost clemency that is found to be consistent with the satisfactory accomplishment of that important object.—We are, &c.,

"F. CURRIE,  
"W. J. EASTWICK," &c.

The adjourned debate, in committee, on the Indian resolutions was resumed on Monday, the 7th of June, and continued, at intervals, until Thursday, the 17th of the month, when, with several amendments, they were reported to the house, and leave was given to bring in a bill for the future government of India.

With regard to the proceedings of government and the legislature in reference to this important subject, as they were connected with the several propositions of the late and existing government, the following remarks of the *Times* very succinctly expressed the popular opinion. That journal, in an editorial article of the 21st of June, observed—"For the third time we have come to a full stop in the matter of Indian legislation, and found ourselves compelled to begin over again. Lord Palmerston's bill could not get on because Lord Palmerston was turned out of office, Lord Derby's bill could not get on because of its intrinsic absurdity, and now the resolutions, that were to have settled everything, have come to a dead lock, and cannot by any means be induced to carry us a single step further. The waste of time that has been incurred is, we believe, unexampled, even in the annals of that most apt contrivance for the expenditure of human life—the House of Commons. It is now more than two months since the infelicitous ingenuity of Lord John Russell originated the clever scheme of stopping short in the middle of a bill, in order to settle, if possible, by a collateral investigation, what the contents of that bill ought to be. The thing was done and decided on at once by one of those sudden and impulsive movements which have made the present House of Commons the wonder, if not always the admiration, of its constituents. With the same kind of dash with which it threw out the late ministry and fell spontaneously to pieces on the proposition to censure Lord Ellenborough's despatch, the House of Commons, which had previously allowed the introduction of two bills, resolved by acclamation to drop them both, in order to relieve itself from the definiteness of the issue involved, and to expatriate freely on the wider field of

resolution. Everybody, except the house itself, saw at once the full effect of such a step. It relieved the government from all responsibility, and threw it upon the house at large. It was to go into committee on a bill the principle of which had not been decided upon. It was to come to a number of decisions, none of which were final or binding, and every one of which might be reconsidered whenever the real time for settling matters arrived. It gave tempting opportunity for delay, and encouraged, to an unprecedented extent, the faculty of wandering as far as possible from the point in debate. However, the price has now been paid. We have lost two months of the session. We have filled our columns to repletion with long and irrelevant speeches. Let us see what we have got in exchange. That the government was to be vested in the crown and placed in the hands of a responsible minister was conceded before the debate began, so that on that point there was no difference on either side. The resolutions embodying these two propositions were therefore merely formal, and made no advance whatever. The first point decided was, that the new council should not be less than twelve, nor more than fifteen—a whimsical conclusion by which nobody feels himself bound, and which will probably be more heartily contested than any point in the forthcoming bill. The house will very likely adhere to the decision at which it has arrived, but the debate will only furnish new grounds for argument, and provide the advocates of the smaller and of the larger number with better and more accurate knowledge of the strength and weakness of their respective positions, and equip them with new arms for attack and defence. Not much has been gained, therefore, either in point of time or knowledge by affirming this proposition, the narrow limits of which give it an air of pedantry and dogmatism ridiculously inconsistent with its really tentative and indeterminate character. The next proposition which the house has established is, that part of the members of the council shall be nominative and part elective. This proposition was accepted by the house in a fit of enthusiastic devotion to the will of the minister, which, we must say, he had scarcely earned. Lord Ellenborough's bill, as our readers will recollect contained two methods of election—one by five chosen parliamentary constituencies, the other by

preference shareholders in stock and railways, merchants, Indian officials, and so forth. In this respect the bill differed as widely as possible from the council proposed by Lord Palmerston, which was wholly nominated by the crown. The first wave that broke over the ministerial ship carried away the five constituencies, to appear no more, and it soon became evident that the proposed Indian constituency was utterly repugnant to almost every one, its own proposers and advocates not excluded. What, then, was to be done? Formally to reject the elective principle was to destroy almost the whole difference between the resolutions and Lord Palmerston's bill, and to admit that a second time government had failed in finding the right principle, and, in its eagerness to find grounds of difference from its antagonists, had taken up an untenable position. On the other hand, to return the words as they stood, threw upon government the duty of finding some species of election—an undertaking which held out no chance of success. The government were perplexed between admitting themselves to be wholly wrong, and taking up a position which they could not support. Candour pleaded for the one course, pride and consistency for the other. The government did not hesitate, having made up its mind to give up the elective principle, to obtain from the house a pledge that it should be carried out. This answered very well for one evening, and the affirmation of the principle was carried by a large majority, amid tremendous cheers. From that moment the fate of the resolutions was sealed. The house could not be asked to rescind what it had done, and neither it nor the ministry had the slightest idea of giving effect to the proposition which they had affirmed. Here, then, things had arrived at a point where it was possible to go no further without contradicting what had been decided upon. The manner in which ministers met this untoward position, was to sketch out a scheme of alternate nomination and self election, and, without venturing to propose it, to proceed to resolutions on different and less important matters. Then the patience of the house at last gave way, and it was agreed to drop the proceeding by resolution with the same precipitance and the same unanimity with which the plan had been adopted.

"This is but a sorry account of the labour of so many weeks, but it is actually all that

has been done—all the assistance that has been afforded towards the construction of the bill by many nights of debate upon the resolutions. A number of members of council has been declared by approximation which nobody seems inclined to adopt, and a principle of election has been laid down from which everybody distinctly dissents. Such are the solid foundations we have gained for the future bill. We are to have an election, only there is to be no constituent body and the council itself seems likely to be rejected from dislike to the principle of co-optation, and also of election. It seems not improbable that the seven elected members may disappear altogether for want of electors, and leave us nothing but the eight nominated members of Lord Palmerston's bill. Such a result would be worthy of the course hitherto taken. Let us, at any rate, rejoice that we are at last free from these weary resolutions, and about to advance, however slowly, in the course of practical law-making, when, it is to be hoped, we shall have more of purpose and less of empty declamation."

A third bill for the better government of India, known as Lord Stanley's Bill, was at length, on the 22nd of June, printed for the consideration of the members of both houses of parliament. The following is an abstract of the provisions of Bill No 3—

The preamble states that it is expedient that the territories in the possession of the East India Company should be governed by and in the name of her majesty.

By clause 1, the government of the territories now in the possession or under the government of the East India Company, and all powers so relating to government vested in or exercised by the said Company in trust for her majesty shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the said Company, and all territories in the possession or under the government of the said Company, and all rights vested in, or which if this act had not been passed might have been exercised by the said Company in relation to any territories shall become vested in and be exercised on behalf of her majesty; and for the purposes of this act India shall mean the territories vested in her majesty as aforesaid and all territories which may become vested in her majesty by virtue of any such rights as aforesaid.

It is to be governed by and in the name of her majesty; and all rights in relation to any territories which might have been exercised by the said Company if this act had not been passed shall and may be exercised on behalf of her majesty as rights incidental to the government of India.

III. Save as herein otherwise provided, one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state shall have and perform all such of the like powers and duties in any way relating to the government or revenues of India and all such of the like powers over all

officers appointed or continued under this act, as might or should have been exercised or performed by the East India Company, or by the Court of Directors or Court of Proprietors of the said Company.

IV. After the commencement of this act any four of her majesty's principal secretaries of state for the time being, and any four of the under-secretaries for the time being to her majesty's principal secretaries of state, may sit and vote as members of the House of Commons, but not more than four such principal secretaries, and not more than four such under secretaries shall sit as members of the House of Commons at the same time.

Clause 5 provides, that if the person who immediately before the commencement of the act is the president of the commissioners for the affairs of India be appointed a principal secretary of state, he need not vacate his seat in the House of Commons. By clause 6, the salaries of one secretary of state and his under secretaries, are to be paid out of the revenue of India. Clause 7 states that a council of India is to be established, to consist of fifteen members. Clauses 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16, refer to the mode by which the members of the council are to be elected, the way in which vacancies are to be filled up, the time of the tenure of office, the salaries, and other particulars.

XVII. It shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign manual countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, to grant to any secretary, officer, or servant on the home establishment of the said Company, or on the establishment of the said commissioners, who in consequence of such reduction as aforesaid by the secretary of state or under such order in council is not retained on the establishment of the council of India, any compensation either by way of a gross or annual payment, as, having regard to the circumstances, may seem just.

Clause 18 relates to retiring allowances to officers.

XIX. The council shall, under the direction of the secretary of state, and subject to the provisions of this act, conduct the business transacted in the United Kingdom in relation to the government of India and the correspondence with India but every order or communication sent to India shall be signed by one of the principal secretaries of state, and—save as expressly provided by this act—every order in the United Kingdom in relation to the government of India under this act shall be signed by such secretary of state, and all despatches from governments and presidencies in India, and other despatches from India, which if this act had not been passed should have been addressed to the Court of Directors or to their secret committee, shall be addressed to such secretary of state.

XX. It shall be lawful for the secretary of state to divide the council into committees for the more convenient transaction of business, and from time to time to rearrange such committees, and to direct what departments of the business in relation to the government of India under this act shall be under such committees respectively and generally to direct the manner in which all such business shall be transacted.

XXI. The secretary of state shall be the president of the council, and it shall be lawful for such secretary of state to appoint from time to time any member of such council to be vice-president thereof and any such vice president may at any time be removed by the secretary of state.

Clauses 22 and 23 define the mode of proceeding to be adopted at meetings of the council.

XXIV. Every order or communication proposed to be sent to India, and every order proposed to be made in the United Kingdom by the secretary of state under this act, shall, unless the same has been submitted to a meeting of the council, be placed in the council room for the perusal of all members of the council during seven days before the sending or making thereof, except in the cases hereinafter provided.

XXV. If a majority of the council record as aforesaid their opinions against any act proposed to be done, the secretary of state shall if he do not defer to the opinions of the majority, record his reasons for acting in opposition thereto.

XXVI. Provided that where it appears to the secretary of state that the dispatch of any order or communication, or the making of any order, is urgently required, the communication may be sent or order given, notwithstanding the same may not have been submitted to a meeting of the council or deposited for seven days as aforesaid, the urgent reasons for sending or making the same being recorded by the secretary of state, and notice thereof being given to every member of the council, except in the cases hereinafter mentioned.

XXVII. Provided, also, that all such orders and communications as might, if this act had not been passed have been sent by the commissioners for the affairs of India through the secret committee of the Court of Directors to governments or presidencies in India or to the officers or servants of the said Company, may, after the commencement of this act, be sent to such governments or presidencies, or to any officer or servant in India, by the secretary of state, without having been submitted to a meeting or deposited for the perusal of the members of the council and without the reasons being recorded or notice thereof given as aforesaid.

XXVIII. Any despatches to Great Britain which might if this act had not been passed have been addressed to the secret committee of the Court of Directors, may be marked "Secret" by the authorities sending the same, and such despatches shall not be communicated to the members of the council unless the secretary of state shall so think fit and direct.

Clauses 29, 30, 31, 32, and 33 regulate the manner in which appointments to offices in India are to be made. Appointments now made in India to continue to be made there.

By clause 31 there is to be a competitive examination for cadetships in the engineers and artillery.

Clauses 35, 36 and 37, relate to the removal of officers by her majesty and the disposal of the real and personal estate of the Company.

XXIX. The dividend on the capital stock of the said Company, secured by the Act of the 3rd and 4th years of King William IV., chap. 83 until the redemption thereof, and all the bond debenture and other debt of the said Company in Great Britain and all the territorial debt, and all other debts of the said Company, and all sums of money, costs, charges, and expenses, which, if this act had not been passed, would after the time appointed for the commencement thereof, have been payable by the said Company out of the revenues of India, in respect or by reason of any treaties, covenants, contracts, grants, or liabilities then existing, and all

expenses, debts, and liabilities which, after the commencement of this act, shall be lawfully contracted and incurred on account of the government of India, and all payments under this act, shall be charged and chargeable upon the revenues of India alone, as the same would have been if this act had not been passed, and such expenses, debts, liabilities, and payments as last aforesaid had been expenses, debts, and liabilities lawfully contracted and incurred by the said Company, and such revenues shall not be applied to any other purpose whatsoever, and all other moneys vested in or arising or accruing from property or rights vested in her majesty under this act, or to be received or disposed of by the council under this act, shall be applied in aid of such revenues.

XXXIX Such part of the revenues of India as shall be from time to time remitted to Great Britain, and all moneys of the said Company in their treasury or under the care of their cashier, and all other moneys in Great Britain of the said Company, or which would have been received by them in Great Britain if this act had not been passed and all moneys arising or accruing in Great Britain from any property or rights vested in her majesty by this act, or from the sale or disposition thereof, shall be paid to the council, to be by them applied for the purposes of this act, and all moneys to be paid to the council, except as hereinafter otherwise provided, shall be paid into the Bank of England, to the credit of an account to be opened by the governor and company of the Bank of England, to be entitled "The Account of the Council of India."

Clauses 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, and 45, relate to the transfer of stock, the disposal of exchequer bills, and the power of borrowing money.

XLVI All provisions now in force in anywise relating to the offence of forging, or altering, or offering, uttering, disposing of or putting off, knowing the same to be forged or altered any East India bond, with intent to defraud shall extend and be applicable to and in respect of any bond, debenture, or security issued by the council of India under the authority of this act.

By clause 47, the present system of issuing warrants for payments is to be continued.

XLVIII It shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign manual, countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, to appoint from time to time a fit person to be auditor of the accounts of the council, and to authorise such auditor to appoint and remove from time to time such assistants as may be specified in such warrant.

By clause 49, the council accounts are to be annually laid before parliament.

By clause 50, commissioners may proceed to India to enquire into the finances and accounts.

LI The military and naval forces of the East India Company shall be deemed to be the Indian military and naval forces of her majesty, and shall be under the same obligation to serve her majesty as they would have been under to serve the said Company, and shall be liable to serve within the same territorial limits only, for the same terms only, and be entitled to the like pay pensions allowances and privileges, and the like advantages as regards promotion and otherwise, as if they had continued in the service of the said Company such forces, and all persons hereafter enlisting in or entering the same shall continue and be subject to all acts of parliament, laws of the governor general of India

in council, and articles of war, and all other laws, regulations, and provisions relating to the East India Company's military and naval forces respectively, as if her majesty's Indian military and naval forces respectively had throughout such acts laws, articles, regulations and provisions, been mentioned or referred to, instead of such forces of the said Company, and the pay and expenses of and incident to her majesty's Indian military and naval forces shall be defrayed out of the revenues of India.

Clause 52 makes provision for persons hereafter entering her majesty's Indian forces.

Clause 53 provides that servants of the Company are to be deemed servants of her majesty.

By clause 54, all orders of the Court of Directors or Board of Control are to remain in force.

LV All functions and powers of Courts of Proprietors and Courts of Directors of the said Company in relation to the government of India, and all appointments of such of the directors of the said Company as have been appointed by her majesty, shall cease, and the yearly sum payable to the chairman deputy-chairman, and other directors of the said Company, shall cease to be payable, and all powers vested in her majesty of appointing directors of the said Company shall cease and determine.

LVI The appointments and powers of appointment of commissioners for the affairs of India shall cease and determine.

Clauses 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, and 64, refer to existing contracts and pending suits, and continue certain rights of the Company.

LXV Save as herein otherwise provided, this act shall commence and take effect upon the expiration of thirty days after the day of the passing thereof.

LXVI This act shall be proclaimed in the several presidencies and governments of India as soon as conveniently may be after such act has been received by the governor general of India, and until such proclamation be made all acts matters, and things done, ordered, directed, or authorised in India in the name of the East India Company, or otherwise in relation to the government of India, shall be as valid and effectual as if this act had not been passed.

The most meritorious feature in this measure of Lord Stanley's, consisted in the fact that it was the bill of Lord Ellenborough divested of its most prominent and startling absurdities. The territories of the East India Company were by it to be vested in the Queen, and in her name the future government was to be carried on. The responsible minister for such government, it was proposed should be a fifth secretary of state so that, after all the verbiage exhausted upon the subject of an official title, the government adhered to the original proposition rather than to the designation of president. From this point the bills materially diverged from each other. The three great constituencies—the proprietors of East India stock, the guaranteed railway shareholders, and the retired valetudiniaries from the East—were thrown overboard, the



On the following evening the house went into committee on the bill, when the 1st and 2nd clauses were agreed to without debate, but the amendments proposed to the subsequent clauses, as they progressed through committee, were so extensive as almost to constitute a new measure. A lengthened series of observations and suggestions, in aid of the efforts of her majesty's ministers to provide for the better government of India, was also submitted to the consideration of the legislature by the Board of Directors of the East India Company, which, on the 24th of June, were printed with the votes of the House of Commons. On the 8th of July, the bill, as amended, was read a third time, and passed, and, on the following evening, it was introduced to the House of Lords, and read a first time, the second reading being appointed for the 15th of the month. Upon the introduction of the bill, the Earl of Shaftesbury presented the following petition from the East India Company, against its passing into a law —

"1 That at the commencement of the present session of parliament your petitioners did address your right honourable house, praying that you would not give your sanction to any change in the constitution of the Indian government without full previous inquiry into the present system, an inquiry extending into 'every branch of Indian administration,' and that your petitioners did at the same time 'challenge the most searching investigation into the mutiny of the Bengal army, and the causes, whether remote or immediate, which produced that mutiny."

"2 That, nevertheless, without any such inquiry or investigation whatsoever having taken place a bill has been introduced into your right honourable house and read a first time, entirely abrogating that constitution of government for India which has existed from the first—viz, the government of this Company, at whose expense, and by whose exertions British authority was originally established in India

circumstances of the rebellion in India do make inquiry by parliament necessary, and such inquiry ought to be into the conduct of individuals, as the chief means whereby misconduct, if proved, can in future be prevented. Your petitioners submit to your right honourable house, that it is at least possible that one result of such an inquiry might be to implicate functionaries of the Indian government who are not servants of this Company, but whom it is now proposed to relieve from that practical although limited control to which they have hitherto been subjected by the existence of this Company. Your petitioners submit to your right honourable house that in passing the proposed measure without full previous inquiry, you do incur the danger of increasing that power of the servants of the crown which, as exerted in the affairs of India, may have already been too great and require to be diminished.

"3 That your petitioners cannot but consider the rejection of their prayer for inquiry as not only an act of injustice towards themselves but an act of injustice towards the people of India, and a most lamentable precedent for the future conduct of the legislature under great national calamities. In their former petition your petitioners did respectfully claim such an inquiry, because when for the first time in this century, the thoughts of every public man in the country were fixed on India, an inquiry would be more thorough, and its results would carry much more instruction to the mind of parliament and the country than at any preceding period. Your petitioners apprehend that the rejection of this their prayer is the neglect of a precious opportunity which may never recur. The bill now under consideration by your right honourable house, contrary to all former precedent contains no mention whatever of the people of India.

"4 That your petitioners did represent to your right honourable house, in their former petition, that 'they could not well conceive a worse form of government for India than a minister with a council whom he should be at liberty to consult or not at his pleasure,' a principle which the proposed form of government adopts to a very serious extent, it being one of the main provisions of the bill 'for the better government of India,' that the president of the council shall be at liberty to receive secret communications from India, and send out secret orders, whenever in his judgment such secrecy may be required, without submitting the same to the members of the council. It is the belief of your

aforesaid bill, to expressly disclaim Your petitioners beg respectfully to represent to your right honourable house that such an enactment cannot but tend to mislead the English people on a matter of the most vital importance, inasmuch as your petitioners cannot see how the national credit can be kept separate from the credit of the Indian government, save by continuing this Company in its administrative functions.

"8 That in the year 1773, when the chartered rights of your petitioners were first invaded, and powers and patronage which they had hitherto exercised were otherwise vested, certain of the members of your lordships' house did protest against the course that was at that time entered upon, predicting that the boundless fund of corruption furnished by that bill to the servants of the crown, would efface every idea of honour, public spirit, and independence from every rank of people, consequences which, in the belief of your petitioners, the proposed bill (which is the sequel to that of 1773) renders more imminent than ever.

"9 That, having regard to all these considerations, and seeing that that full inquiry which your petitioners before prayed your right honourable house to institute has become impossible during the present session of parliament, your petitioners do humbly pray your right honourable house not to suffer the bill for the 'better government of India' now before you to become law, and your petitioners do further pray your right honourable house to allow this Company to be heard by counsel against the said bill, and in defence of the Company's rights and privileges.

"And your petitioners will ever pray "

Notwithstanding this petition, or protest, the bill went through its various stages in the House of Peers with comparatively little discussion, although several amendments were introduced. On the 23rd of July it was declared to have passed the Lords, and was remitted back to the House of Commons, for its consideration of the amendments proposed. The attention of the house was directed to these amendments on the 26th of the month, when Colonel Sykes, on moving that they should be considered "that day three months," entered upon an elaborate vindication of the administration of the East India Company, and complained of the harsh measure that had been dealt out to it by the bill which put an end to its political existence. Some of the Lords' amendments were then considered and allowed, others were objected to, and a committee was appointed to draw up a minute of the reasons on which the House of Commons sustained their objections. The Lords, on the 29th of July, resolved not to insist upon more than one of their amendments, which related to the mode of admission to the scientific branches of the Indian service, and, on the 30th, the clerk of the house reported that the Com-

mons did not intend to further persevere in their objections to the Lords' amendments. The bill then passed; and on Monday, the 2nd of August, the royal assent gave vitality to the measure by which the future destinies of British India were to be guided.

The dropped bill, introduced by Lord Palmerston, has already been recorded in this volume, as essential to show the principle upon which the administration, of which he was chief, was prepared to legislate for the two hundred millions of human beings about to pass under the direct government of the British crown. The bill of Lord Stanley (Bill No. 3), which superseded the proposed measure of Lord Ellenborough (Bill No. 2), has also been given in *extenso*, as exhibiting the points on which, while aiming at the same result, a different school of statesmen thought it expedient to diverge from the scheme of their predecessors in office, and although much space is necessarily occupied by the introduction of the bill as it ultimately passed and received the royal assent, still, as an historical document to which it may be hereafter necessary to refer in connection with the government of India, it has been deemed essential to the completeness of the present work, that the bill should likewise be preserved in these pages. The following are the provisions of the East India Bill, 21 & 22 Victoria, cap. 106.

Whereas by an act of the session holden in the sixteenth and seventeenth years of her majesty, chapter ninety-five, to provide for the government of India "the territories in the possession and under the government of the East India Company were continued under such government in trust for her majesty until parliament should otherwise provide, subject to the provisions of that act and of other acts of parliament, and the property and rights in the said act referred to are held by the said Company in trust for her majesty for the purposes of the said government; and whereas it is expedient that the said territories should be governed by and in the name of her majesty be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, by the authority of the same, as follows, that it is to say—

*Transfer of the Government of India to Her Majesty*—I The government of the territories now in the possession or under the government of the East India Company, and all powers in relation to government vested in or exercised by the said Company in trust for her majesty, shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the said Company, and all territories in the possession or under the government of the said Company, and all rights vested in or which if this act had not been passed might have been exercised by the said Company in relation

council the yearly salary of one thousand two hundred pounds, out of the revenue of India.

XIV. Any member of the council may, by writing under his hand, which shall be recorded in the minutes of the council, resign his office; and it shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, to grant to any person who, having held the office of member of the council for the period of ten years or upwards, shall so resign by reason of infirmity disabling him from a due execution of the duties of the office, a retiring pension during life of five hundred pounds: provided, that if at any time hereafter it should appear to parliament expedient to reduce the number or otherwise deal with the constitution of the said council, no member of council who has not served in his office for a period of ten years, shall be entitled to claim any compensation for the loss of his office, or for any alteration in the terms and conditions under which the same is held.

XV. The secretaries and other officers and servants on the home establishment of the said Company and on the establishment of the commissioners for the affairs of India, immediately before the commencement of this act, shall on such commencement be and form the establishment of the secretary of state in council, and the secretary of state shall, with all convenient speed, make such arrangement of the said establishments, and such reductions therein, as may seem to him consistent with the due conduct of the public business, and shall within six months after the commencement of this act, submit a scheme for the permanent establishment to her majesty in council, and it shall be lawful for her majesty, by the advice of her privy council, upon the consideration of such scheme, to fix and declare what shall constitute and be the establishment of the secretary of state in council, and what salaries shall be paid to the persons on the establishment and the order of her majesty in council shall be laid before both houses of parliament within fourteen days after the making thereof, provided parliament be then sitting, or otherwise within fourteen days after the next meeting thereof; and after such establishment has been formed by such order in council, no addition of persons shall be made to such establishment, nor any addition made to the salaries authorised by such order, except by a similar order in council, to be laid in like manner before both houses of parliament.

XVI. After the first formation of the establishment, it shall be lawful for the secretary of state in council to remove any officer or servant belonging thereto, and also to make all appointments and promotions to and in such establishment, provided that the order of her majesty in council of the twenty first day of May, one thousand eight hundred and fifty five, or such other regulations as may be from time to time established by her majesty for examinations, certificates, probation or other tests of fitness, in relation to appointments to junior situations in the civil service, shall apply to such appointments on the said establishment.

XVII. It shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, to grant to any secretary, officer or servant on the home establishment of the said Company, or on the establishment of the said commissioners, who, in consequence of such reduction as aforesaid by the secretary of state

or under such order in council, is not retained on the establishment of the secretary of state in council, any compensation, either by way of a gross or annual payment, as, having regard to the circumstances may seem just.

XVIII. It shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant, countersigned as aforesaid, to grant to any such secretary, officer, or servant as aforesaid, retained on such last mentioned establishment, such compensation, superannuation, or retiring allowance on his ceasing to hold office as might have been granted to him if this act had not been passed, and the transfer of any person to the service of the secretary of state in council shall be deemed to be a continuance of his previous appointment or employment, and shall not prejudice any claims which he might have had in respect of length of service if his service under the said Company or commissioners had continued; and it shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant, countersigned as aforesaid, to grant to any secretary, officer, or servant appointed on the said establishment after the first formation thereof, such compensation, superannuation, or retiring allowance as, under the act of the session holden in the fourth and fifth years of King William the Fourth, chapter twenty four, or any other act for the time being in force concerning superannuations and other allowances to persons having held civil offices in the public service, may be granted to persons appointed on the establishment of one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Duties and Procedure of the Council.—XIX. The council shall, under the direction of the secretary of state, and subject to the provisions of this act, conduct the business transacted in the United Kingdom in relation to the government of India and the correspondence with India, but every order or communication sent to India shall be signed by one of the principal secretaries of state, and, as expressly provided by this act, every order in the United Kingdom in relation to the government of India under this act, shall be signed by such secretary of state, and all despatches from governments and presidencies in India, and other despatches from India, which if this act had not been passed should have been addressed to the Court of Directors or to their secret committee, shall be addressed to such secretary of state.

XX. It shall be lawful for the secretary of state to divide the council into committees for the more convenient transaction of business, and from time to time to rearrange such committees, and to direct what departments of the business in relation to the government of India under this act shall be under such committees respectively and generally to direct the manner in which all such business shall be transacted.

XXI. The secretary of state shall be the president of the council, with power to vote, and it shall be lawful for such secretary of state in council to appoint from time to time any member of such council to be vice president thereof, and any such vice president may at any time be removed by the secretary of state.

XXII. All powers by this act required to be exercised by the secretary of state in council, and all powers of the council shall and may be exercised at meetings of such council, at which not less than five members shall be present, and at every meeting, the secretary of state, or, in his absence, the vice-president, if present, shall preside, and in the absence

and all expenses, debts, and liabilities, which, after the commencement of this act shall be lawfully contracted and incurred on account of the government of India, and all payments under this act, shall be charged and chargeable upon the revenues of India alone, as the same would have been if this act had not been passed, and such expenses, debts, liabilities, and payments as last aforesaid had been expenses, debts, and liabilities lawfully contracted and incurred by the said Company, and such revenues shall not be applied to any other purpose whatsoever, and all other monies vested in or arising or accruing from property or rights vested in her majesty under this act, or to be received or disposed of by the council under this act, shall be applied in aid of such revenues provided always, that nothing herein contained shall lessen or prejudicially affect any security to which the said Company, or any proprietor or creditor thereof now is or may be entitled upon the fund called "The Security Fund of the India Company," and mentioned in the act of the third and fourth years of his late majesty King William the Fourth, chapter eighty five, section fourteen.

**XLIII.** Such part of the revenues of India as shall be from time to time remitted to Great Britain, and all monies of the said Company in their treasury or under the care of their cashier, and all other monies in Great Britain of the said Company, or which would have been received by them in Great Britain if this act had not been passed, and all monies arising or accruing in Great Britain from any property or rights vested in her majesty by this act, or from the sale or disposition thereof, shall be paid to the secretary of state in council, to be applied for the purposes of this act, and all such monies, except as hereinafter otherwise provided, shall be paid into the Bank of England, to the credit of an account to be opened by the governor and company of the Bank of England, to be intitled "The Account of the Secretary of State in Council of India," and all monies to be placed to the credit of such account under this act shall be paid out upon drafts or orders signed by three members of the council and countersigned by the secretary of state or one of his under secretaries, and such account shall be a public account provided always, that the secretary of state in council may cause to be kept, from time to time, under the care of their cashier, in an account to be kept at the Bank of England, such sum or sums of money as they may deem necessary for the payments now made out of money under the care of the cashier of the said Company.

**XLIV.** Such amount of money as at the time of the commencement of this act may be standing to the credit of the East India Company at the Bank of England shall be transferred by the governor and company of the Bank of England to the credit of the account to be opened in the name of the secretary of state in council as aforesaid.

**XLV.** There shall be raised in the books of the governor and company of the Bank of England such accounts as may be necessary in respect of any stock or stocks of government annuities and all such accounts respectively shall be intitled "The Stock Account of the Secretary of State in Council of India," and every such account shall be a public account.

**XLVI.** Such government stock or stocks as at the time of the commencement of this act may be standing in the name of the East India Company

in the books of the said governor and company, shall be transferred by the chief cashier or the chief accountant of the said governor and company to the proper account or accounts to be raised as aforesaid.

**XLVII.** The secretary of state in council, by letter of attorney, executed by three members of the council, and countersigned by the secretary of state, or one of his under secretaries, may authorise all or any of the cashiers of the Bank of England to sell and transfer all or any part of the stock or stocks standing, or that may thereafter stand in the books of the said bank to the several accounts of the secretary of state in council, and to purchase and accept stock on the said accounts, and to receive the dividends due and to become due on the several stocks standing, or that may thereafter stand on the said accounts, and by any writing signed by three members of the council, and countersigned as aforesaid, may direct the application of the monies to be received in respect of such sales and dividends, but no stock shall be purchased or sold and transferred by any of the said cashiers under the authority of such general letter of attorney, except upon an order in writing directed to the said chief cashier and chief accountant from time to time, and duly signed and countersigned as aforesaid.

**XLVIII.** All exchequer bills, exchequer bonds, or other government securities, or other securities, of whatsoever kind, not heretofore referred to, which shall be held by the governor and company of the Bank of England in trust for or on account of the East India Company at the time of the commencement of this act, shall thenceforward be held by the said governor and company in trust for and on account of the secretary of state in council, and all such securities as aforesaid, and all such securities as may thereafter be lodged with the said governor and company by or on behalf of the secretary of state in council, shall and may be disposed of, and the proceeds thereof applied as may be authorised by order in writing signed by three members of the council, and countersigned by the secretary of state, or one of his under secretaries, and directed to the said chief cashier and chief accountant.

**XLIX.** All powers of issuing bonds, debentures, and other securities for money in Great Britain which, if this act had not been passed, might have been exercised by the said Company, or the Court of Directors, under the direction and control of the commissioners for the affairs of India, or otherwise shall and may be exercised by the secretary of state in council, with the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting, and such securities as might have been issued under the seal of the said Company shall be issued under the hands of three members of the council, and countersigned by the secretary of state or one of his under secretaries.

**L.** All provisions now in force in anywise relating to the offence of forging or altering, or offering, uttering, disposing of, or putting off knowing the same to be forged or altered any East India bond, with intent to defraud, shall extend and be applicable to and in respect of any bond, debenture, or security issued by the secretary of state in council of India under the authority of this act.

**LI.** The regulations and practice now acted on by the Court of Directors on the issue of warrants or authorities for the payment of money, shall be maintained and acted on by the secretary of state in council of India under this act until the same be